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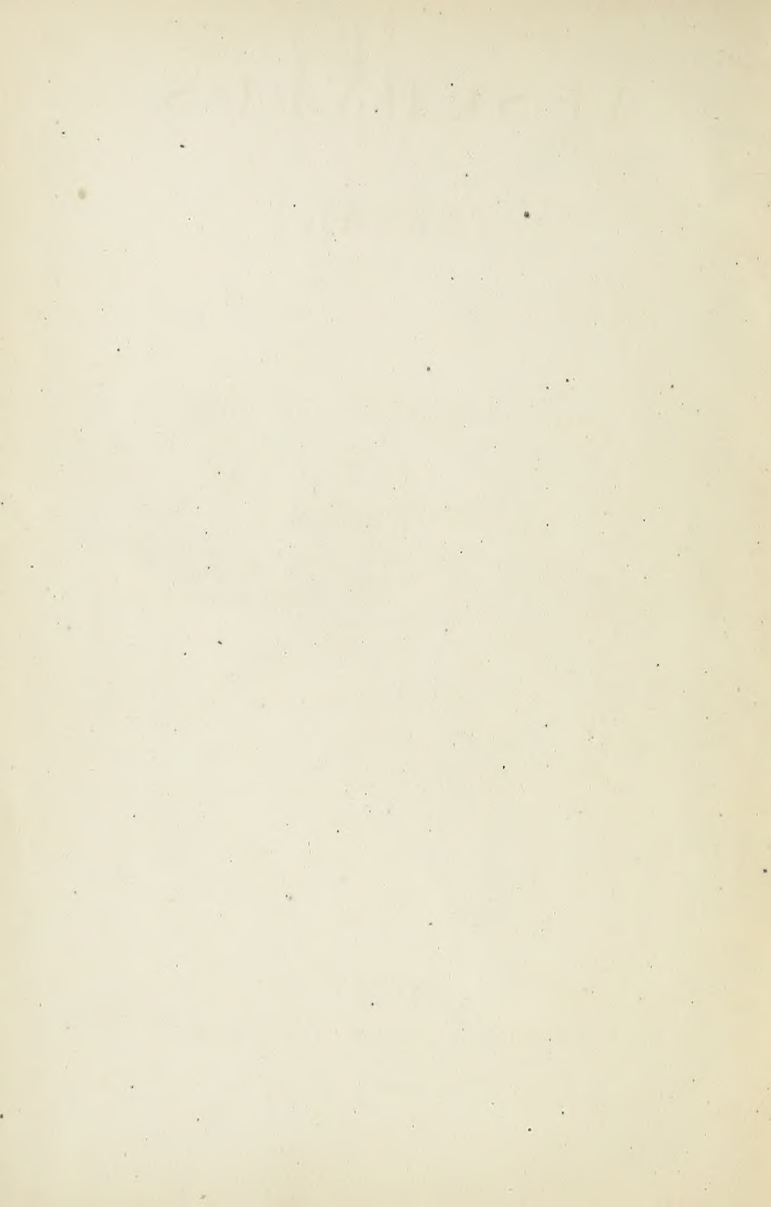
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# AESCHYLUS

## PERSAE

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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## PREFACE

THE text of this edition is taken from the second (revised) edition of the Aeschylus in the 'Oxford Classical Texts' series, published by the University Press. There are a very few further changes introduced, chiefly corrections of minor errors in the text or apparatus criticus, which had escaped notice.

The Persae, though it is by no means free from difficulties in regard both to the text and the interpretation, is yet one of the shortest (and on the whole easiest) of Aeschylus' dramas, and is accordingly not seldom the first that young students read. In writing the commentary, I have borne this fact in mind: and I have thought it best to give rather more help in the notes, in dealing both with the author's meaning and with the grammatical usage, than would be required for more advanced students. In the Introduction I have endeavoured to give, as briefly and clearly as I could, such help towards the understanding of the play, and questions connected with it, as would be most useful to those who were likely to read it. I have also added an Appendix, containing a few longer notes on some of the historical points raised by the play, and on one rather intricate question concerning the original text.

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## PREFACE

It is not necessary to mention the authorities and editions of the play which I have consulted, as they are all enumerated in the list, given in the Introduction, both of the editors of Aeschylus as a whole, and of this drama in particular, as well as of the many scholars who have contributed suggestions on isolated passages. But I feel bound, in this connexion, to pay a special tribute to Dr. N. Wecklein, whose work on Aeschylus, continued for a long series of years, has been so abundantly helpful to all students of the poet.

A. S.

OXFORD, *April*, 1903.

# INTRODUCTION

## § I. THE PLAY AND ITS PRODUCTION.

THE *Persae* was acted at Athens in 472 B.C., and is therefore the second of the extant dramas of Aeschylus, coming after the *Suppliants* in date, but earlier than all the rest. The extract from the διδασκαλίας (or official lists of dramatic contests), which is quoted in the 'argument' prefixed to the text, tells us the date, the names of the four plays with which the poet competed, and the fact that he was victorious. The plays were *Phineus*, *Persae*, *Glaukos Potnieus*, and *Prometheus*, the last being the 'satyric' drama, or lighter piece (usually containing an element of burlesque) with which it was the custom for each competing poet to conclude his series of dramas. The *Prometheus* was called (in its full title) Προμηθεὺς Πυρκαεὺς, or '*Prometheus the Fire-lighter*,' the name being clearly a parody of the well-known title Προμηθεὺς Πυρφόρος, '*Prometheus the Fire-bringer*,' under which he was worshipped at Athens along with the Fire-god Hephaistos. A fragment<sup>1</sup> is quoted by Plutarch (*Mor.* 86 F), who tells us that in the play a Satyr, when he first saw fire, tried to kiss it, and Prometheus cried to him, 'You goat! you'll be lamenting for your beard.' The subjects of the other plays are equally remote from the *Persae* and from each other. *Phineus* was a Thracian king, punished for cruelty to his sons by the visits of the Harpies who defiled and devoured his food. *Glaukos of Potnia* (in Boiotia) fed his mares on human flesh, and when this unnatural fodder on one occasion failed, he was punished by being himself devoured.

It is obvious that these four plays were completely unconnected; and it is even rather difficult to imagine how three such tragedies, of which the first and third were based on very

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. Frag. 207 (Oxford Classical Texts).

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primitive myths, and the second was a historic and patriotic play, could be acted successively without a certain feeling of incongruity.

However that may be, the *Persae* is of the greatest interest to us, as the only extant Greek historic play. It was modelled (we are told in the *Argument*) on the 'Phoenician Women' of Aeschylus' predecessor Phrynichos, who about 477 treated the selfsame subject of the defeat of Xerxes, and in particular had a scene, at the opening of the drama, where the disastrous news was reported by a Persian slave. The same Phrynichos, about seventeen years earlier, had produced at Athens another historical play on the 'Capture of Miletos' by the Persians in the war with the Ionian colonies, which so distressed the Athenians that they fined the poet 1,000 drachmae. These two plays, and the *Persae*, are the only exceptions we know to the otherwise universal practice of the Athenian dramatists, to draw their subjects, not from contemporary history, but from the safer and more abundant material of the heroic myths. There were two obvious advantages in this course, apart from the fact that the myths could not give offence. For first, Athenian tragedy took naturally for its subject the strokes or crises of Fate, sudden reversals of fortune, and the like; which are clearly more easily found in the popular mythical tales of kings and heroes than in contemporary national history. And secondly, the poet was in the former case left far freer to remodel the structure of the story and re-arrange its incidents: and so to make an old thing new. And this freedom was abundantly used, as the extant thirty-three tragedies are alone enough to show. In this connexion it is most significant that the only three historic plays of which we know the subjects all alike deal with the struggles of Greeks against Persia, and two of them with the overthrow of Xerxes at Salamis: and also that, as far as we know, there was no instance of such a play being put on the stage later than 472, the year of the *Persae*.

# THE PLOT OF THE PERSAE

## § 2. THE PLOT OF THE PERSAE.

The Persae, like the Supplices, has no prologue: it opens at once with the entrance of the chorus of Persian elders. The scene is laid near the palace of Xerxes at Susa, where the queen-mother Atossa lives, waiting for news from Xerxes, her son, who is away with his vast army in Greece. The tomb of Dareios is in sight of the audience.

The Chorus describe their anxiety: for 'the whole strength of Asia' is gone, and there is no news (12-16). They then describe the leaders and the diverse contingents, horse, foot, archers, and fleets, which are gone (17-64). The metre then changes from marching anapaests to regular antistrophic lyrics. They describe the bridge over Hellespont, the irresistible sea and land forces (65-92): the uncertainty of fate: show how heaven has lifted Persia to greatness in empire and conquest: and they ask what will be the end? (93-114). Will the land be emptied of its protectors? tidings we wait: but here is the queen! (115-154). (Parodos 1-154.)

Atossa enters in a car, anxious and distracted: she describes a dream she has had: She saw a Persian and a Greek woman striving together: Xerxes yoked them to his car: but the Greek was restive and overthrew the car. She woke and went to sacrifice, and saw an omen: a hawk attacking an eagle. The Chorus advise prayer to the gods, and to Dareios (155-225). She next questions them about Athens: when a messenger arrives and reports the defeat of the whole army at Salamis, his tale being interrupted by cries and questions from the Chorus (226-289). Then he relates in full detail to the queen the battle and destruction of the army: The queen goes off to pray: and bids the elders consult (290-531). (1st Epeisodion, 155-531.)

The stage is empty: and the Chorus express the despair of the land at the crushing disaster—especially the sorrow of the bereaved women. They contrast Xerxes' failure with Dareios' victories: brood on the fate of the drowned crews at Salamis, the narrow escape of the king, and the peril of disorder

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and revolt, now that the power of control is gone, now that 'the blood-stained soil of Aias' seagirt isle holds all the might of Persia.' (1st Stasimon, 532-597.)

Atossa returns on foot, in mourning garb (607-8), bearing offerings to the tomb of Dareios, and calls on the Chorus meanwhile to sing an invocation to the spirit of the dead king, while she pours the libations. The Chorus pray to Earth, Hermes, and Hades to send the spirit up to their aid: next they address Dareios himself, speak of his ancient prowess and wisdom, and bid him come to hear the tale of their ruin and give counsel. (2nd Epeisodion and 2nd Stasimon, 598-680.)

Dareios appears and questions Atossa, who tells him all: he exclaims at the folly of Xerxes in thinking to 'chain the holy Hellespont and be mightier than Poseidon.' He then recalls the history of the Persian empire, and blames Xerxes for disobeying his injunctions. He bids the Persians renounce all idea of conquering Greece, and prophesies the further disaster at Plataia. Let Atossa warn Xerxes. (3rd Epeisodion, 681-851.)

Chorus sing the praise of Dareios, his conquests of cities, tribes, seas, islands; his energy, his wisdom, his power. (3rd Stasimon, 852-908.)

Xerxes appears, and he and the Chorus deliver with alternate songs the *κομμός*, or lament for the fallen. The Chorus ask after all the chiefs: and the King can only bewail their death. The play ends with this antiphonal lamentation. (Exodos 909-1076.)

### § 3. REMARKS ON THE DRAMA.

This play was, as we have seen, the second of the extant Greek dramas: and both the early date, and the sketch of the plot given above, will prepare us to expect not so much a play in the modern sense, as a picturesque presentment of a single striking incident, in a setting of poetic description and lyric song. And this is what we find. The subject is the crushing disaster suffered at Salamis and Plataia by the army and fleet of Xerxes, as it would appear when presented from the Persian



## REMARKS ON THE DRAMA

point of view. The arrangement is effective, but extremely simple. We have the anxiety of the Queen and the people given in the first scene and chorus; the thrilling narrative of the messenger who reports the seafight; the summoning, by prayer and offerings, of the ghost of Dareios, who foretells the further blow of the battle at Plataia: and the return of the defeated and despairing Xerxes, ending with the lamentation of king and people for the ruin of the host. That is all. There is no surprise or unexpected event, as indeed, in a play founded on actual history, where poet and audience had alike been actors, was obviously impossible. There is no *ἀγών*, no struggle of hope and fear, such as in the Suppliants adds the main interest to the situation: no chequered fortune, such as in the *Ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θύβας* (804) tempers the tragedy, enabling the messenger to say 'the city is saved; the princes are slain': nor is there any consideration for the future: for the Shade of Dareios denounces his son (782), and, foretelling (as we saw) the ruin at Plataia, forbids future attacks on Greece (790).

Thus the drama, if simple and broad in its general outline, was one that suited at once the times, the people, and the poet. The precariousness of all human fortunes, the fall that awaits the proud, the jealousy of the gods that threatens all excessive power or prosperity of men—these were deeply-rooted beliefs of the fifth-century Greeks, and they could not fail to be profoundly felt by those who had, like the poet and his contemporaries, actually seen the collapse of the invincible Persia at Marathon and Salamis. To Aeschylus in particular, these thoughts were habitually present: and the *Persae* is an early lyric pageant with this theme for its moral.

In the details, as well as in the general scheme of the play, amid much that justifies the boast put by Aristophanes (*Frogs* 1026) into the poet's mouth, that [by this play] 'he had made men eager to conquer their foes, and glorified a splendid victory,' there are also not a few reminders that Attic drama is still in its early stages. Such are the grotesque ignorance of Atossa where Athens is, whether the soldiers are bowmen,



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whether they are ruled by a king (231-242): and the strange condition of mind which the dead Dareios exhibits. He knows the future, for he prophesies the battle of Plataia in some detail (816): but he has not heard the news of Salamis which is already some weeks old (693 sqq.). He blames Xerxes chiefly for 'chaining the Hellespont' and destroying the gods' shrines (745, 813): and when asked for advice he can only suggest that no more invasions of Greece should be attempted (791). The strangest thing he does is to interrupt the pressing question of *what the Persians are to do now* with a brief enumeration of the Median and Persian kings, apparently for the benefit of the Chorus and Atossa, who hardly can be supposed to require the information. And if the plot of the play is extremely simple and is presented with some naïveté in the details, the characters also are necessarily at this date sketchy and elementary. Some critics<sup>1</sup> have made much of the shades of distinction shown in the sorrow of the various characters, alleging that the Chorus is 'vehement,' Xerxes 'gloomy,' the queen 'personal' in her laments, while Dareios displays 'a calm and divine melancholy.' Such subtleties were not at any time characteristic of the poet: and in this case they seem altogether imaginary. There were at this date only two actors: the notion of a play as a field for the exhibition of character belongs to the later development of the Aeschylean drama, and is chiefly visible in Prometheus and the Trilogy, both certainly subsequent to the rise of Sophokles. In the Persae more than half the play is chorus: more than half the remainder is taken up with the speeches of the messenger, who is merely the poet's mouthpiece, and of Dareios, whose part we have dealt with above. There is only left Atossa to be called a character; and she is depicted simply as an anxious, superstitious, ignorant woman, who is plunged in sorrow and despair when she hears the terrible news. This is all: but for the poet's purpose this is sufficient. In character-drawing, as we understand it, he (in

<sup>1</sup> e. g. M. Patin, quoted with approval by Mahaffy, *Greek Dramatic Literature*.

## REMARKS ON THE DRAMA

this play) neither succeeds nor fails ; for he does not attempt it. Neither the intention of the poet, the circumstances under which he writes, nor the tradition and resources of the theatre, really (at this stage of the drama) admit of such a study.

On the other hand, if we do not ascribe to Aeschylus effects which in 472 were neither intended nor attainable, many other of his characteristic powers are visible enough in the *Persae* as elsewhere. Such, for example, is the notable skill with which the impending disaster is made to cast its shadow before. Aeschylus is always strong in creating the 'atmosphere' of foreboding fear : and (in the opening scene) the Chorus' 'heart prophetic of ill is stirred' in the first few lines, while the note is touched again in the account of the 'trembling wives who count the days' (65), and the thoughts of the 'deceit of the god' (93) that 'pluck with fear at their gloom-wrapt soul' (116). When Atossa comes on, she too (we find) is 'fretted with care' (161) by reason of recurring dreams of ill—the latest of which she tells at length (180-200). This, followed by a still more explicit omen, prepares the way most powerfully for the news given by the messenger (255) that 'the whole army has perished.' Equally notable is the epic power of forcible description, visible in all the Aeschylean dramas : here especially found in the stately account of the Persian host (12-60), the roll of the slain heroes (300-330), the troubles of retreat (480-515), and, rising magnificently, in the superb narrative of the battle of Salamis itself (355-470). It is true that the attempt to present the Persian view—an essential condition if Salamis is to be the theme of a tragedy—is not wholly maintained : the mask is half withdrawn in the constant reference to *βάρβαροι* (see notes), and in the exultation, apparent throughout the narrative of the Athenian exploits<sup>1</sup>, it is practically abandoned. But this matters less, since at the time the play was addressed to the whole of Athens assembled in one place, and every subsequent reader has been on the Athenian side.

<sup>1</sup> See especially 396-430 ; but hardly less grand is the description of the scene at *Psyttaleia*, 447-470.

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The last 200 lines, containing the prolonged lamentations of the Chorus and Xerxes, have no doubt less interest for the modern reader: but, in judging the total effect, we have to remember that the humiliation of Xerxes is thereby emphasized; that to a Greek audience it was necessary and natural that a crushing misfortune involving many deaths should be adequately bewailed; and that the praise of Dareios, which fills the six stanzas of the third stasimon (852-908), really heightens the effect, by contrast to the disaster which his son's rashness and pride has brought upon the Persian empire.

### § 4. THE STAGING OF THE PERSAE.

The date of the Persae is 472, as we have seen: and at that time all plays were performed in the precinct of Dionysos, south of the Akropolis, where a new orchestra had been made in 499. This was the same site on which the great stone theatre, whereof there are considerable remains to-day, was built by Lykourgos in the middle of the fourth century B.C. But in the time of Aeschylus there was a low wooden stage, connected by steps with the orchestra: wooden benches placed on the hillside for the audience: and at this date *no regular scenery*. Scenery was invented by Sophokles, who first exhibited in 468: and there is every reason to suppose that in the Trilogy (458) alone of the extant dramas of Aeschylus the stage had a painted background. Till the innovation was made the stage was bare, with a simple hoarding behind, containing openings or doors through which the actors went on and off, the wooden stage-buildings (the development of the old shed or tent, *σκηνή*) being behind. There were frequently altars, statues of gods, and tombs, represented on the stage or in the orchestra: and in this play the tomb of Dareios is no doubt visible all through. The palace is understood to be near, but is clearly not in sight: indeed Atossa first comes on (159) with a chariot (607) and therefore by the orchestra door—which would be an absurd procedure if the palace was actually visible behind the stage. When the Chorus leader says, 140, ‘Come,

## THE STAGING OF THE PERSAE

Persians, let us sit down before *this ancient dwelling*,<sup>1</sup> they no doubt *mean* the palace, but it is only seen by the eye of imagination, as all the main scenery necessarily was in the early drama.

### § 5. THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The following is a brief account of the MSS. which contain the Persae, and which naturally fall into two groups:—

#### A. *Medicean Group.*

1. M., far the oldest and most important, the *Medicean*, in the Laurentian library at Florence, written on parchment about the beginning of the eleventh century<sup>1</sup>. A photographic facsimile of this has been published by the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction.

2. G., *Guelferbytanus*, at Wolfenbüttel, written on paper in the fifteenth century. It is (in this play, as in Agam. and Cho.) merely a copy of M., and is badly and ignorantly copied. It contains nearly all the mistakes of M. and many more of its own.

3. P., *Parisinus*, in the library of Paris, on paper, in the fifteenth century. Very like the Medicean, and probably derived from it<sup>2</sup>.

The above form what we may call the Medicean group. The last three probably cannot be regarded as having any authority other than what they derive from M. Their differences from M. may pretty confidently be set down to error, or conjecture, or both.

#### B. *The Venetian Group.*

4. V., *Venetus*, in the library of S. Mark at Venice, on parchment, fifteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> The same MS. contains, besides Aeschylus, all the extant tragedies of Sophocles, and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius. The Sophocles has been published (by the Hellenic Society, 1885) in photographic facsimile, with a careful palaeographical criticism by Sir E. M. Thompson, Keeper of MSS. and Egerton Librarian in the British Museum. The date given above is assigned by him on grounds of handwriting.

<sup>2</sup> Moritz Haupt, in the preface to Hermann's Aeschylus, ed. 1852, thinks a few of its variations from M. are due to emendation, the rest to carelessness.

5. Fl., *Florentinus*, in the Laurentian library at Florence, on paper, fourteenth century.

6. Fa., *Farnesianus* (once in the Farnese library), now in the museum at Naples, on paper, fourteenth century. This contains the recension of Demetrius Triclinius, a scholar and grammarian of the fourteenth century, who was unfortunately ignorant of the metres of tragedy, and somewhat rash in conjecture.

These three are obviously from a common origin, as the omission of ninety-one lines of the Eumenides in all three is enough to show; moreover the great mass of variations from M. are common to the three. The exact relation of this group to the Medicæan is not certain, but the authorities tend to agree in believing that they are founded either upon M. or upon a not remote ancestor of M.

The six MSS. described above are the most important for the text of the Persæ. There are many other later MSS., of little or no value, containing Prom. Theb. Persæ, the three plays most read towards the close of the Byzantine period, when learning was decadent.

In the critical notes the text of the Medicæan as *originally written* is always quoted as M. But besides the original scribe, other hands appear in the MS. as follows:—

1. A contemporary hand, easily distinguished, which wrote the *scholia* (or Greek notes to the text) and the *glosses* (or explanations of words between the lines), corrected the errors and supplied omissions of the first hand, added in some plays the Argument and Dramatis Personæ, and occasionally inserted a query or a conjecture at the side. The corrections of this writer are important, as he evidently revised the work of the scribe, comparing it with another MS.: he was moreover clearly a more learned and careful person than the scribe. He is quoted always as m.

2. Later correctors (14th or 15th cent.) who are occasionally referred to, and are quoted as m<sub>1</sub>.

## THE MANUSCRIPTS

As the MSS. are called by different names, and quoted by different letters, it may be useful to give the following table:—

M.	library	Florence,	no.	xxxii. 9	century	XI.
G.	"	Wolfenbüttel,	"	88	"	XV.
P.	"	Paris,	"	2886	"	XV.
Fl.	"	Florence,	"	xxxi. 8	"	XIV.
Fa.	"	Naples,	"	I. E. 5	"	XIV.
V.	"	Venice,	"	616 or xci. 5	"	XV.

We have then the following abbreviations and signs used in the critical notes:—

M. the scribe or first hand of the Medicean.

m. the second hand, who revised the scribe's work.

m<sub>1</sub>. later correctors.

G., B; P., V., Fl., Fa., the later MSS. described above.

rec. one of the later MSS. containing the passage.

recc. all (or most) of the later MSS.

codd. all (or most) of the MSS. including M.

< > conjectural additions to the text.

[ ] words which should be omitted from the text.

† corrupt text not emended.

### § 6. THE SCHOLIA.

Reference is made in both critical and explanatory notes to the Scholia, and it will be convenient to explain briefly both what they are and in what way they are valuable.

In the Medicean MS. by the side of the texts are written comments in Greek, called *Scholia*. They are in a small but clear hand, partly in capitals (*half-uncial*), while the text itself is written in *cursive*, that is in a running hand, in small letters, two or more letters being often closely connected and slightly contracted. The Scholia are by a different hand to that which wrote the text, and the authorities are agreed that they are mostly written, at the same time as the text, by the διορθωτής or scholar who corrected the errors made in the text by the professional scribe. Their value consists, both for text and



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comment, in their *age*. Their explanations are often wrong, but they not unfrequently contain valuable information dating back to many centuries before our earliest MS. For textual criticism they are occasionally a great help, as they sometimes explain a *different* text to that which is by their side in the MS., and so may furnish evidence of an older and truer reading than the MS. itself. In any case they are always worth considering.

The following specimens may be given of the way in which the Scholia can thus be made serviceable in correcting the text.

In 135 the Chorus is describing the grief of the Persian women in the absence of their husbands on the expedition; and the expression found in the MSS. is *Περσίδες ἀκροπενθεῖς*. This makes quite good sense, 'the Persian women in utter sorrow': but the scholiast, interpreting the adjective, says:—ἐπιμόνως πενθοῦσαι, ὡς δοκεῖν ἀβρύνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ πενθεῖν, '*persistently lamenting*, so that they seem to *luxuriate in their sorrow*.' From this Paley perceived that the schol. was explaining, *not* ἀκροπενθεῖς (which indeed requires no comment) but the very similar word ἀβροπενθεῖς, 'revelling in sorrow,' which exactly fits the explanation, and is a much choicer word. This brilliant restoration is further confirmed by 541, where the *Περσίδες* are called ἀβρόγιοι.

Again in 432 the MSS. read *πλῆθος τοσοῦτ' ἀριθμόν*, 'a multitude so great in number,' which is quite good Greek, and the sense quite appropriate. But the scholiast, who clearly had this reading in his text, and explains the accusative ἀριθμόν correctly, adds the words:—μήποτε δὲ τοσουτὰριθμον θέλει, i.e. 'perhaps he means [to write] *τοσουτὰριθμον*.' In making this conjecture he shows a sense of style, divining that Aesch. is more likely to have used the rare compound adjective *τοσουτὰριθμον* than the ordinary prosaic phrase. However deficient the scholiasts may sometimes be in literary taste and judgement, we should always remember that they had two great advantages over the moderns, viz. (1) that Greek was to them a living



## THE SCHOLIA

language, (2) that they had access to a mass of Greek literature which is now lost. Thus their suggestions always deserve attention, and in this case the conjecture is most probably right.

The text of the Persae also provides useful illustration of another way in which a knowledge of the scholia is valuable to textual criticism. It often happens that their comments, written by the side of the text, are mistaken by copyists for the words of the poet, and incorporated in the copy. Thus in line 152 M. reads

βασίλεια δ' ἐμή, προσπίτνω προσκυνῶ

where the metre is destroyed and the poetry hopelessly spoiled by the last word, a mere prosaic repetition of the preceding word *προσπίτνω*. The fact is that *προσκυνῶ*, the *common* word, was originally written at the side of the *old* word *προσπίτνω*, as an explanation, and then by mistake copied as part of the poet's words. The later MSS. correctly stop at *προσπίτνω*.

Similarly in 589 M. and P. have *βασιλεία ἢ βασιλική*, the last two words being an explanation of the first, and entirely spoiling the metre.

But the most striking example is in 97, where all the MSS. read *φιλόφρων γὰρ σαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει . . . ἄτα*, 'for ruin smiling kindly at first lures them aside,' the right sense, but quite unmetrical and intolerably prolix and prosaic. Seidler brilliantly conjectured for *σαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει* the single word *παρασαίνει*, 'entices aside,' which restores the metre and exactly suits the context. It is clear that Aesch. wrote this, and then the commentator rightly explained it by adding the words *σαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει*, which correct but lengthy interpretation crept into the text.

Another very clear instance occurs in line 6. Most of the MSS., including M., read *δαρειογενής· δαρείου υἱός*. The last two words are merely a (rather superfluous) explanation of the poet's word *Δαρειογενής*, which has commonly been absorbed into the text. The Farnese MS. alone has it right, Triclinius having no doubt understood that the extra words were not the poet's, and ejected them from his recension.

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## § 7. THE EDITIONS.

The following is a list of the chief editions (*a*) of the whole seven plays, (*b*) of the Persae separately.

(*a*) All the plays :—

1518 Aldine.	} These give only the parts of Ag. found in M. In Ald. and Turn. the play is confused with Choe-phoroi. Rob. gives the two plays separate.	
1552 Turnebus.		
1552 Robortello.		
1557 Victorius (Vettori).	This is the first that gives Ag. whole.	
1580 Canter.	1828 Scholefield.	
1663 Stanley.	1831 Bothe.	
1745 Pauw.	1842 E. A. I. Ahrens.	
1746 Askew.	1847-79 Paley.	
1782 Schütz.	1852 G. Hermann.	
1794 Porson.	1852 Hartung.	
1794 Portus.	1858 H. Weil.	
1809 Butler.	1871 R. Merkel.	
1823 Wellauer.	1880 Kirchhoff.	
1825 Boissonade.	1885 Wecklein.	
1827-69 W. Dindorf.	1891-7 (with commentary) Wecklein.	

(*b*) Persae separately :—

1814 Blomfield.	1869 R. Merkel.
1825 E. R. Lange.	L. Schiller.
G. Pinzger.	1875 W. S. Teuffel.
1837 G. W. C. Schneider.	1876 I. Oberdick.
1839 C. G. Haupt.	1884 Weil.
1853 Meineke.	1891 Wecklein (with Septem).

In addition to the above, readings or corrections are occasionally quoted from Arnaldus, Blaydes, Boeckh, Brunck, Burges, Burney, Campbell, Döderlein, Elmsley, Emper, Enger, Eustathius, Franz, Haupt, W. Headlam, Heath, Heimsoeth, Housman, Keiper, Lachmann, Meineke, Meyer, Monk, Nauck, Pallis, Passow, Prien, Scaliger, Schiller, Schneider, Seidler, Stadtmüller, Thurot, Wakefield, Wecklein.

## § 8. THE TEXT AND CRITICAL APPARATUS.

From the list of MSS. given above (§ 5) it appears that M. is far the oldest ; and it is also the best (if not the only) authority for the readings. All the MSS. have many undoubted mistakes : and M. is no exception. In many places one or other of the

## THE TEXT AND CRITICAL APPARATUS

later manuscripts has a better reading than M.: but they also have several mistakes from which M. is free. There are, lastly, many errors common to all the existing MSS.

Under these circumstances, wherever the text is not that contained in M., the reading of the latter is always recorded, either specifically as read by M., or when the other MSS. have the same error, by the word *codd.*, i.e. all (or most) of the existing MSS. The later MSS. are only quoted, either where one of them alone is right, or where, for other reasons, it seemed desirable to mention them. The following illustrations will make sufficiently clear the meaning of the critical notes at the foot of the text.

(1) MSS. all wrong: same error.

(line 17) *κίσσιον* Blomfield: *κίσσινον* *codd.*

i.e. all the MSS., including M., read *κίσσινον*, but the true reading *κίσσιον* was conjectured first by Blomfield. The fact is *κίσσινον*, 'made of ivy-wood' was written by mistake, being a Greek word, though here it makes nonsense: the true word is a *name*, which being unknown to the copyists was wrongly written.

(2) M. wrong: *recc.* right.

(line 80) *ἰσόθεος* *recc.*: *ἰσόθειν* M

i.e. M. has *ἰσόθειν* (no doubt misled by confusing *φῶς*, Epic *masculine* word for 'man,' with *φῶς*, common *neuter* word for 'light,' though here it makes no sense), while the later MSS. have *ἰσόθεος* the true reading.

(3) M. wrong (but *nearer* the true reading): *recc.* corrected and wrong.

(line 470) *ἦησ'* Robortello: *ἦησ'* M: *ἦιξ'* *recc.*

i.e. *recc.* have *ἦιξ'*, 'rushed,' which makes the right sense, but is a mere conjectural emendation of M.'s word *ἦησ'*, which is not a word at all. The true solution was found by the sixteenth century scholar Robortello, who saw that Aesch. wrote *ἦησ'* (the rare intransitive use of *ἦημι*, 'to rush'), and made a much better correction of the erroneous *ἦησ'* of M.

## PERSAE

(4) Lastly, one specimen may be given of a more intricate kind, where all MSS. are wrong, but M. *was originally* right.

(line 794) where Dareios says that the barren land of Greece is 'the ally of the Greeks.' Being asked why, he replies,

'because it starves to death those who are too numerous'

(i.e. cannot support a large host like the Persians): κτείνουσα  
λιμῶ τοὺς ὑπερπόλλους ἄγαν.

The note is

794 ὑπερπόλλουσ fuerat M: ὑπερπώλουσ m: ὑπερκόμπους recc.  
plerique

i.e. M. originally had ὑπερπόλλους, the right word: the corrector m. (and several later MSS. also) wrote ὑπερπώλους, a word which does not exist, and could only be supposed to mean 'with too many horses,' a quite impossible expression. In the other recc. a less impossible (but quite wrong) correction was made, ὑπερκόμπους, 'exceedingly boastful.' No doubt this was suggested by the idea (common in the Persae) that the disaster of the Persians was an example of *the ruin of the overweening*: but here the idea is wholly irrelevant, as it has nothing whatever to do with the *barrenness* of the land. M. alone had the true reading, fortunately still legible in spite of the correction of m.

# ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

# ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

## ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

Γλαῦκος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Αἰσχύλου μύθων ἐκ τῶν Φοινισσῶν Φρυνίχου φησὶ τοὺς Πέρσας παραπεποιῆσθαι. ἐκτίθησι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δράματος ταύτην,

Τὰδ' ἐστὶ Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι βεβηκότων.

5 πλὴν ἐκεῖ εὐνοῦχος ἐστὶν ἀγγέλλων ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν Ξέρξου ἦτταν, στορνύς τε θρόνους τινὰς τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς παρέδροις· ἐνταῦθα δὲ προλογίζει χορὸς πρεσβυτῶν. καὶ ἐστὶν ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος παρὰ τῷ τάφῳ Δαρείου· ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσις, Ξέρξης στρατευσάμενος κατὰ Ἑλλάδος· μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, ἵππον μὲν ἄμετρον ἐπαγόμενος, ναὺς δὲ χιλίας δια-  
10 κοσίας ἐπτά, ἡ καὶ δεκατέσσαρας· καὶ πεζῇ μὲν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς νικηθεῖς, ναυτικῇ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, καὶ διὰ Θεσσαλίας φεύγων διεπεραιώθη εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

Ἐπὶ Μένωνος τραγῳδῶν Αἰσχύλος ἐνίκα Φινεῖ, Πέρσαις, Γλαύκῳ Ποτνιεῖ, Προμηθεῖ.

15 Πρώτῃ ἔφοδος Περσῶν ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἐδυστύχησε περὶ Μαραθῶνα, δευτέρᾳ Ξέρξου περὶ Σαλαμίνα καὶ Πλαταιάς.

## Τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα·

χορὸς γερόντων  
Ἀτοσσα  
ἀγγελος  
εἰδῶλον Δαρείου  
Ξέρξης

[Argumentum] In Mediceo argumentum scripsit prima manus 1 ἐν τοῖς] mutatum ex ἐν τῷ vel ἐν τῇ [sc. πραγματείᾳ] 7 post πρεσβυτῶν in M haec sequuntur: τῶν δὲ χορῶν [legendum χορικῶν] τὰ μὲν ἐστὶ παροδικά, ὅτε λέγει δι' ἣν αἰτίαν πάρεστιν, ὥς τὸ Τύριον οἶδμα λιποῦσαι [Eur. Phoen. 202], τὰ δὲ στάσιμα, ὅτε ἵσταται καὶ ἄρχεται τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῦ δράματος, τὰ δὲ κομματικά, ὅτε [legendum ὅ,τι] λοιπὸν ἐν θρήνῳ γίνεται: quae ut alieno e loco huc illata secluserit Blomfield 8-10 μετὰ . . . δεκατέσσαρας recc.: om. M 11 διεπεραιώθη secludere volt Weil: v. ad Theb. argumentum, v. 2, ubi fabulae actio participiorum usu describitur 13 ἐπὶ Μένωνος] i. e. Ol. 76 anno quarto, vel a. Chr. 472 14 Ποτνιεῖ recc.: om. M Προμηθεῖ] Pollux x. 64 satyricam fuisse fabulam refert, quae Προμηθεὺς Πυρκαεὺς sit appellata

Dramatis Personae] in Mediceo personarum nulla mentio

## ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

### ΧΟΡΟΣ

Τάδε μὲν Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων  
 Ἑλλάδ' ἐς αἶαν πιστὰ καλεῖται,  
 καὶ τῶν ἀφνεῶν καὶ πολυχρύσων  
 ἐδράνων φύλακες, κατὰ πρεσβείαν  
 οὗς αὐτὸς ἄναξ Ξέρξης βασιλεὺς  
 Δαρειογενῆς

5

εἴλετο χώρας ἐφορεύειν.  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ νόστῳ τῷ βασιλείῳ  
 καὶ πολυχρύσου στρατιᾶς ἥδη  
 κακόμαντις ἄγαν ὀρσολοπεῖται  
 θυμὸς ἔσωθεν.

10

πᾶσα γὰρ ἰσχύς Ἀσιατογενῆς  
 ὥχῳ κε, νέον δ' ἄνδρα βαῦζει,  
 κοῦτε τις ἄγγελος οὔτε τις ἱππεὺς  
 ἄστυ τὸ Περσῶν ἀφικνεῖται·  
 οἷτε τὸ Σούσων ἡδ' Ἀγβατάνων

15

6 Δαρειογενῆς Fa : δαρειογενῆς· δαρείου νίδος M codd. plures  
 9 πολυχρύσου recc. : πολυχρύσουσ M 13 ὥχῳ κε recc. : οἷχῳ κε M  
 [Et hic et alibi cum edd. recentioribus Atticam formam restitui.  
 In ipsius poetae scriptura constat sane inter οἷχῳ κε et ὥχῳ κε, ὅλλυσαν  
 (461) et ὥλλυσαν, οἰακοστροφὸν (767) et ὥακοστροφὸν nihil interfuisse :  
 in hac tamen fabula tot Ionicorum verborum extant exempla, ut cetera  
 quoque, quae in codd. ita scripta inveniuntur, fortasse non debeant  
 mutari. Credas enim hoc Aeschylum voluisse, tanquam Persis aptius  
 foret Ionice loqui. (W. Headlam)] 16 Ἀγβατάνων Brunck :  
 ἐκβατάνων codd.



καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν Κίσσιον ἔρκος  
 προλιπόντες ἔβαν, τοὶ μὲν ἔφ' ἵππων,  
 τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ ναῶν, πεζοὶ τε βάδην

πολέμου στίφος παρέχοντες·  
 οἶος Ἀμίστρης ἦδ' Ἀρταφρένης  
 καὶ Μεγαβάτης ἦδ' Ἀστιάσπης,  
 ταγοὶ Περσῶν,

βασιλῆς βασιλέως ὕποχοι μέγαλον,  
 σοῦνται, στρατιᾶς πολλῆς ἔφοροι,  
 τοξοδάμαντές τ' ἦδ' ἵπποβάται,  
 φοβεροὶ μὲν ἰδεῖν, δεινοὶ δὲ μάχην  
 ψυχῆς εὐτλήμονι δόξῃ·

Ἀρτεμβάρης θ' ἵππιοχάρμης  
 καὶ Μασίστης, ὃ τε τοξοδάμας  
 ἐσθλὸς Ἰμαῖος, Φαρανδάκης θ',

ἵππων τ' ἐλατῆρ Σοσθάνης.  
 ἄλλους δ' ὁ μέγας καὶ πολυθρέμμων  
 Νεῖλος ἔπεμψεν· Σουσιस्कάνης,  
 Πηγασταγῶν Αἰγυπτογενῆς,  
 ὃ τε τῆς ἱερᾶς Μέμφιδος ἄρχων  
 μέγας Ἀρσάμης, τὰς τ' ὠγυγίους  
 Θήβας ἐφέπων Ἀριόμαρδος,  
 καὶ ἐλαιοβάται ναῶν ἐρέται

δεινοὶ πληθὸς τ' ἀνάριθμοι.  
 ἀβροδιαίτων δ' ἔπεται Λυδῶν  
 ὄχλος, οἷτ' ἐπίπαν ἡπειρογενὲς  
 κατέχουσιν ἔθνος, τοὺς Μιτρογαθῆς  
 Ἀρκεύς τ' ἀγαθός, βασιλῆς δίοποι,  
 καὶ πολύχρυσοι Σάρδεις ἐπόχους  
 πολλοῖς ἄρμασιν ἐξορμῶσιν,

17 κίσσιον Blomfield : κίσσιον codd. 18-9 τοὶ bis Blomfield :  
 οἱ bis codd. 21 ἀρταφρένησ (ex ἀρταφέρνησ factum) M : Ἀρταφέρνησ  
 plerique codd. 22 Μεγαβάτης V recc. aliquot : μεταβάτησ M  
 28 εὐτλήμονι recc. : ἐν τλήμονι M V 30 Μασίστης (Herod.  
 7. 82) : μασίστησ M 43 Μιτρογαθῆς recc. duo : μητρογάθησ M G

δίρρυμά τε καὶ τρίρρυμα τέλη,  
φοβερὰν ὄψιν προσιδέσθαι.  
στεῦται δ' ἱεροῦ Τρώλου πελάτης  
ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλεῖν δούλιον Ἑλλάδι,  
Μάρδων, Θάρυβις, λόγχης ἄκμονες,  
καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ Μυσοί· Βαβυλῶν δ'  
ἡ πολύχρυσος πάμμικτον ὄχλον  
πέμπει σύρδην, ναῶν τ' ἐπόχους  
καὶ τοξουλκῶ λήματι πιστούς·  
τὸ μαχαιροφόρον τ' ἔθνος ἐκ πάσης  
'Ασίας ἔπεται

50

55

δειναῖς βασιλέως ὑπὸ πομπαῖς.  
τοιόνδ' ἄνθος Περσίδος αἴας  
οἷχεται ἀνδρῶν,  
οὓς πέρι πᾶσα χθὼν Ἀσιᾶτις  
θρέψασα πόθῳ στένεται μαλερῶ,  
τοκέες τ' ἄλοχοί θ' ἡμερολεγδὸν  
τείνοντα χρόνον τρομέονται.

60

πεπέρακεν μὲν ὁ περσέπτολις ἤδη  
βασίλειος στρατὸς εἰς ἀν-  
τίπορον γείτονα χώραν,  
λινοδέσμῳ σχεδία πορ-  
θμὸν ἀμείψας  
'Αθαμαντίδος Ἑλλας,  
πολύγομφον ὄδισμα  
ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλὼν αὐχένι πόντου.

[στρ. α.  
66

70

πολυάνδρου δ' Ἀσίας θούριος ἄρχων  
ἐπὶ πᾶσαν χθόνα ποιμα-

[ἀντ. α.

47 τρίρρυμα recc. : τρίρρυμα M  
στεῦνται (ν puncto notata) M  
50 δούλιον Scaliger : δούλειον codd.  
'Ασιᾶτις Dindorf : ἀσιήτισ M  
codd.

49 στεῦται rec. et schol. M :  
πελάτης Weil : πελάται codd.  
55 καὶ omittit G 61 περὶ M  
65 πεπέρακεν Porson : πεπέρακε

νόριον θεῖον ἐλαύνει . 75  
 διχόθεν, πεζονόμον τ' ἔκ  
 τε θαλάσσας,  
 ἐχυροῖσι πεποιθὼς  
 στυφελοῖς ἐφέταις, χρυ-  
 σογόνου γενεᾶς ἰσόθεος φῶς. 80

κυανοῦν δ' ὄμμασι λεύσσων [στρ. β.  
 φονίου δέργμα δράκοντος,  
 πολύχειρ καὶ πολυναύτας,  
 Σύριόν θ' ἄρμα διώκων,  
 ἐπάγει δουρικλύτοις ἀν- 85  
 δράσι τοξόδαμνον Ἄρη.

δόκιμος δ' οὔτις ὑποστὰς [ἀντ. β.  
 μεγάλῳ ρεύματι φωτῶν  
 ἐχυροῖς ἔρκεσιν εἴργειν  
 ἄμαχον κῦμα θαλάσσας· 90  
 ἀπρόσοιστος γὰρ ὁ Περσᾶν  
 στρατὸς ἀλκίφρων τε λαός.

δολόμητιν δ' ἀπάταν θεοῦ [στρ. γ.  
 τίς ἀνὴρ θνατὸς ἀλύξει;  
 τίς ὁ κραιπνῷ ποδὶ πῆδη- 95  
 μα τόδ' εὐπετῶς ἀνάσσω;

φιλόφρων γὰρ παρασαίνει [ἀντ. γ.  
 βροτὸν εἰς ἄρκυας Ἄτα,

76 πεζονόμον τ' Stadtmüller : πεζονόμοις codd. 79-80 χρυσο-  
 γόνου rec. et schol. M : χρυσονόμου M G V codd. cett. 80 ἰσόθεος  
 recc. : ἰσόθεον M 81 κυανοῦν Blomfield : κυάνεον codd. 82 φονίου  
 Turnebus : φοινίου codd. δέργμα recc. aliquot : δέρμα M cett.  
 91 Περσᾶν Blomfield : περσῶν codd. 95-6 πῆδημα τόδ' Emper :  
 πηδήματος codd. 96 εὐπετῶς Emper : εὐπέτεος codd. plerique : εὐ-  
 πετέως P ἀνάσσω Brunck : ἀνάσσω codd. 97 παρασαίνει  
 Seidler : σαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει (scholium longe a poeta alienum)  
 codd. 98 ἄρκυας ἄτα Hermann : ἀρκύστατα codd.

τόθεν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπερθέν  
 νιν ἄνατον ἐξαλύξαι.

100

θεόθεν γὰρ κατὰ Μοῖρ'  
 ἐκράτησεν τὸ παλαι-  
 όν, ἐπέσκηψε δὲ Πέρσαις  
 πολέμους πυργοδαϊκτοὺς  
 διέπειν ἵππιοχάρμας  
 τε κλόνους  
 πόλεών τ' ἀναστάσεις.

[στρ. δ.

105

ἔμαθον δ' εὐρυπόροι-  
 ο θαλάσσας πολιαι-  
 νομένας πνεύματι λάβρω  
 ἔσορᾶν πόντιον ἄλσος,  
 πίσυνοι λεπτοδόμοις πεί-  
 σμασι λα-  
 οπόροις τε μαχαναῖς.

[ἀντ. δ.

110

ταῦτά μοι μελαγχίτων  
 φρῆν ἀμύσσεται φόβῳ,  
 ὁᾶ, Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος  
 τοῦδε, μὴ πόλις πύθη-  
 ται κένανδρον μέγ' ἄστυ Σουσίδος,

[στρ. ε.

116

καὶ τὸ Κισσίων πόλισμ'  
 ἀντίδουπον ἄσεται,  
 ὁᾶ, τοῦτ' ἔπος γυναικοπλη-  
 θῆς ὄμιλος ἀπύων,  
 βυσσίνοις δ' ἐν πέπλοις πέση λακίς.

[ἀντ. ε.

121

125

99-100 ὑπερθεν Robortello, νιν ἄνατον ἐξαλύξαι Wecklein : ὑπὲρ  
 θνατὸν ἀλύξαντα φυγεῖν codd. 108 τ' recc. : δ' M 115 μοι  
 recc. : μόν M G 118 πόλις iniuria suspectum 121 ἄσεται  
 Burney : ἔσεται M recc. 125 πέση λακίς omisit M, inter hunc  
 v. et 126 scripsit m

πᾶς γὰρ ἱππηλάτας [στρ. ζ.  
 καὶ πεδοστιβῆς λεῶς  
 σμῆνος ὥς ἐκλέλοιπεν μελισ-  
 σᾶν σὺν ὀρχάμῳ στρατοῦ,  
 τὸν ἀμφίζευκτον ἐξαμείψας 130  
 ἀμφοτέρας ἄλιον  
 πρῶνα κοινὸν αἶας.

λέκτρα δ' ἀνδρῶν πόθῳ [ἀντ. ζ.  
 πῖμπλνται δακρύμασιν·  
 Περσίδες δ' ἀβροπενθεῖς ἐκά- 135  
 στα πόθῳ φιλάνορι  
 τὸν αἰχμάεντα θοῦρον εὖνα-  
 τῆρ' ἀποπεμψαμένα  
 λείπεται μονόζυξ.

ἀλλ' ἄγε, Πέρσαι, τόδ' ἐνεζόμενοι 140  
 στέγος ἀρχαῖον,  
 φροντίδα κεδνὴν καὶ βαθύβουλον  
 θώμεθα, χρεῖα δὲ προσήκει,  
 πῶς ἄρα πράσσει Ξέρξης βασιλεὺς  
 Δαρειογενῆς, 145  
 τὸ πατρωνύμιον γένος ἡμέτερον·  
 πότερον τόξου ῥῦμα τὸ νικῶν,  
 ἢ δορικράνου  
 λόγχης ἰσχὺς κεκράτηκεν.

ἀλλ' ἦδε θεῶν ἴσον ὀφθαλμοῖς 150  
 φάος ὀρμᾶται μήτηρ βασιλέως,

128-9 μελισσᾶν rec.: μέλισσα M: μέλισσαι habebat schol. 133 πόθῳ]  
 ὀδῶ Wecklein 135 ἀβροπενθεῖς (ex schol. collato 541) Paley:  
 ἀκροπενθεῖς codd. 135-6 ἐκάστα recc.: ἐκάσταν fuerat M, sed n  
 ita erasum ut ἐκάστα videatur esse 137-8 εὐνατῆρα προπεμψαμένη  
 (e recc. duobus) frustra restituebat Brunck 141 στέγος recc.:  
 στέος M 144 ἄρα M 148 δορικράνου recc.: δορυκράνου M

βασιλεία δ' ἐμή, προσπίτνω  
καὶ προσφθόγγοις δὲ χρεῶν αὐτὴν  
πάντας μύθοισι προσαυδᾶν.

ὦ βαθυζώνων ἄνασσα Περσίδων ὑπερτάτη, 155  
μήτερ ἢ Ξέρξου γεραία, χαῖρε, Δαρείου γύναι  
θεοῦ μὲν εὐνάτειρα Περσῶν, θεοῦ δὲ καὶ μήτηρ ἔφυς,  
εἴ τι μὴ δαίμων παλαιὸς νῦν μεθέστηκε στρατῷ.

## ΑΤΟΣΣΑ

ταῦτα δὴ λιποῦσ' ἱκάνω χρυσεοστόλμους δόμους  
καὶ τὸ Δαρείου τε κάμὸν κοινὸν εὐνατήριον. 160  
καί με καρδίαν ἀμύσσει φροντίς· ἐς δ' ὑμᾶς ἐρῶ  
μῦθον, οὐδαμῶς ἐμαυτῆς οὔσ' ἀδείμαντος, φίλοι,  
μὴ μέγας πλοῦτος κούισας οὐδας ἀντρέψῃ ποδὶ  
ὄλβον, ὃν Δαρεῖος ἦρεν οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν τινός.  
ταῦτά μοι διπλὴ μέριμνα φραστός ἐστιν ἐν φρεσίν, 165  
μήτε χρημάτων ἀνάνδρων πλήθος ἐν τιμῇ σέβειν  
μήτ' ἀχρημάτοισι λάμπειν φῶς ὅσον σθένος πάρα.  
ἔστι γὰρ πλοῦτός γ' ἀμεμφής, ἀμφὶ δ' ὀφθαλμῷ φόβος·  
ὄμμα γὰρ δόμων νομίζω δεσπότην παρουσίαν.  
πρὸς τὰδ' ὥς οὕτως ἐχόντων τῶνδε, σύμβουλοι λόγου  
τοῦδὲ μοι γένεσθε, Πέρσαι, γηραλέα πιστώματα· 171  
πάντα γὰρ τὰ κέδν' ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστί μοι βουλευματα.

Χο. εὖ τόδ' ἴσθι, γῆς ἄνασσα τῆσδε, μή σε δις φράσαι  
μήτ' ἔπος μήτ' ἔργον ὦν ἂν δύναιμι ἡγεῖσθαι θέλῃ·  
εὐμενεῖς γὰρ ὄντας ἡμᾶς τῶνδε συμβούλους καλεῖς. 175

Ατ. πολλοῖς μὲν αἰεὶ νυκτέροις ὀνειράσιν  
ξύνειμ', ἀφ' οὔπερ παῖς ἐμὸς στείλας στρατὸν  
Ἰαόνων γῆν οἷχεται Πέρσαι θέλων·

152 προσπίτνω] προσπίτνω προσκυνῶ (scholio iniuria illato) M  
157 εὐνάτειρα recc. : εὐνήτειρα M 162 οὐσ' ἀδείμαντος] οὐδ' ἀδεί-  
μαντον Weil 163 πλοῦτος] δαίμων Heimsoeth 165 μέριμνα  
φραστός C. G. Haupt : μέριμν' ἀφραστus codd. 168 ὀφθαλμῷ  
Heimsoeth : ὀφθαλμοῖς codd. 174 δύναιμι recc. : δυνάμεισ M  
θέλῃ] θέλει (ei in η mutatum m<sub>1</sub>) M 176 αἰεὶ V : ἀεὶ M G

ἀλλ' οὔτι πω τοιόνδ' ἐναργὲς εἰδόμην  
 ὥς τῆς πάροιθεν εὐφρόνης· λέξω δέ σοι. 180  
 ἔδοξάτην μοι δύο γυναικ' εὐείμονε,  
 ἣ μὲν πέπλοισι Περσικοῖς ἡσκημένη,  
 ἣ δ' αὖτε Δωρικοῖσιν, εἰς ὄψιν μολεῖν,  
 μεγέθει τε τῶν νῦν ἐκπρεπεστάτα πολὺ,  
 κάλλει τ' ἀμώμω, καὶ κασιγνήτα γένους 185  
 ταυτοῦ· πάτραν δ' ἔναιον ἣ μὲν Ἑλλάδα  
 κλήρῳ λαχοῦσα γαῖαν, ἣ δὲ βάρβαρον.  
 τούτῳ στάσιν τιν', ὥς ἐγὼ δόκουν ὄραν,  
 τεύχειν ἐν ἀλλήλαιοσι· παῖς δ' ἐμὸς μαθὼν  
 κατεῖχε ἀπράνουν, ἄρμασιν δ' ὑπο 190  
 ζεύγνυσιν αὐτῷ καὶ λέπαδν' ἐπ' αὐχένων  
 τίθησι. χῆ μὲν τῇδ' ἐπυργούτο στολῇ  
 ἐν ἡνίαισί τ' εἶχεν εὐαρκτον στόμα,  
 ἣ δ' ἐσφάδαζε, καὶ χεροῖν ἔντη δίφρου  
 διασπαράσσει, καὶ ξυναρπάζει βία 195  
 ἄνευ χαλινῶν καὶ ζυγὸν θραύει μέσον.  
 πίπτει δ' ἐμὸς παῖς, καὶ πατὴρ παρίσταται  
 Δαρείῳ οἰκτεῖρων σφε· τὸν δ' ὅπως ὄρᾳ  
 Ξέρξης, πέπλους ῥήγνυσιν ἀμφὶ σώματι.  
 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ νυκτὸς εἰσιδεῖν λέγω. 200  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνέστην καὶ χεροῖν καλλιρρόου  
 ἔψαυσα πηγῆς, σὺν θυηπόλῳ χερὶ  
 βωμὸν προσέστην, ἀποτρόποισι δαίμοσιν  
 θέλουσα θῦσαι πέλανον, ὦν τέλη τάδε.  
 ὀρῶ δὲ φεύγοντ' αἰετὸν πρὸς ἐσχάραν 205  
 Φοῖβον· φόβῳ δ' ἄφθογγος ἐστάθην, φίλοι·  
 μεθύστερον δὲ κίρκον εἰσορῶ δρόμῳ  
 πτεροῖς ἐφορμαίνοντα καὶ χηλαῖς κάρα  
 τίλλονθ'· ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γ' ἢ πτήξας δέμας

181 μοι recc. : om. M  
 χένων recc. : ὑπαυχένων M  
 ἡνίαισι δ' recc.

189 ἀλλήλασι (Ionice) M  
 193 ἡνίαισί τ' Blomfield : ἡνίαισιν M P :  
 194 ἔντη Scaliger : ἐντῇ M

191 ἐπ' αὐ-  
 207 μεθ' ὕστερον M



παρείχε. ταῦτ' ἔμοιγε δείματ' εἰσιδεῖν,  
 ὑμῖν δ' ἀκούειν. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, παῖς ἔμδς  
 πράξας μὲν εὖ θαυμαστός ἂν γένοιτ' ἀνὴρ,  
 κακῶς δὲ πράξας—οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος πόλει,  
 σωθεῖς δ' ὁμοίως τῆσδε κοιρανεῖ χθονός.

Χο. οὐ σε βουλόμεσθα, μήτερ, οὐτ' ἄγαν φοβεῖν λόγοις 215  
 οὔτε θαρσύνειν. θεοὺς δὲ προστροπαῖς ἰκνουμένη,  
 εἴ τι φλαῦρον εἶδες, αἰτοῦ τῶνδ' ἀποτροπὴν τελεῖν,  
 τὰ δ' ἀγάθ' ἐκτελῇ γενέσθαι σοί τε καὶ τέκνοις σέθεν  
 καὶ πόλει φίλοις τε πᾶσι. δεύτερον δὲ χρὴ χοὰς  
 γῇ τε καὶ φθιτοῖς χέασθαι· πρενμενῶς δ' αἰτοῦ τάδε, 220  
 σὸν πόσιν Δαρεῖον, ὄνπερ φῆς ἰδεῖν κατ' εὐφρόνην,  
 ἐσθλά σοι πέμπειν τέκνῳ τε γῆς ἔνερθεν ἐς φάος,  
 τᾶμπαλιν δὲ τῶνδε γαῖα κάτοχ' ἀμαυροῦσθαι σκότῳ.  
 ταῦτα θυμόμαντις ὦν σοὶ πρενμενῶς παρήνεσα·  
 εὖ δὲ πανταχῇ τελεῖν σοι τῶνδε κρίνομεν πέρι. 225

Ατ. ἀλλὰ μὴν εὖνους γ' ὁ πρῶτος τῶνδ' ἐνυπνίων κριτὴς  
 παιδὶ καὶ δόμοις ἑμοῖσι τήνδ' ἐκύρωςας φάτιν.  
 ἐκτελοῖτο δὴ τὰ χρηστά· ταῦτα δ', ὥς ἐφίεσαι,  
 πάντα θήσομεν θεοῖσι τοῖς τ' ἔνερθε γῆς φίλοις,  
 εὐτ' ἂν εἰς οἴκους μὀλωμεν. κείνο δ' ἐκμαθεῖν θέλω, 230  
 ᾧ φίλοι, ποῦ τὰς Ἀθήνας φασὶν ἰδρῦσθαι χθονός.

Χο. τῇλε πρὸς δυσμαῖς ἄνακτος Ἡλίου φθινασμάτων.

Ατ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἱμεῖρ' ἔμδς παῖς τήνδε θηρᾶσαι πόλιν.

Χο. πᾶσα γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν Ἑλλὰς βασιλέως ὑπήκοος.

Ατ. ᾧδέ τις πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδροπλήθεια στρατοῦ; 235

Χο. καὶ στρατὸς τοιοῦτος, ἔρξας πολλὰ δὴ Μῆδους κακά.

Ατ. καὶ τί πρὸς τούτοισιν ἄλλο; πλοῦτος ἐξαρκὴς δόμοις;

Χο. ἀργύρου πηγὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐστι, θησαυρὸς χθονός.

Ατ. πότερα γὰρ τοξουλκὸς αἰχμὴ διὰ χερῶν αὐτοῖς πρέπει;

210 εἰσιδεῖν Hartung : ἐς ἰδεῖν M : ἔστ' ἰδεῖν recc. 216 θαρσύν-  
 νειν M 218 ἀγάθ' recc. : ἀγαθὰ δ' M τέκνοις] τέκνῳ rec.  
 228 δὴ recc. : δὲ M G 230 κείνο Dindorf : κείνα codd.  
 239 χερῶν Brunck : χερὸς codd. αὐτοῖς] λαοῖς Enger : δαοῖς Stadt-  
 müller (cherds utrimque servato)

Χο. οὐδαμῶς· ἔγχε σταδαῖα καὶ φεράσπιδες σαγαί. 240

Ατ. τίς δὲ ποιμάνωρ ἔπεστι κἀπιδεσπόζει στρατῷ;

Χο. οὔτινος δοῦλοι κέκληνται φωτὸς οὐδ' ὑπήκοοι.

Ατ. πῶς ἂν οὖν μένοιεν ἄνδρας πολεμίους ἐπὶ λυδας;

Χο. ὥστε Δαρείου πολύν τε καὶ καλὸν φθεῖραι στρατόν.

Ατ. δεινά τοι λέγεις κιόντων τοῖς τεκοῦσι φροντίσαι. 245

Χο. ἀλλ' ἔμοι δοκεῖν τάχ' εἴσει πάντα ναμερτῇ λόγον.

τουῦδε γὰρ δράμημα φωτὸς Περσικὸν πρέπει μαθεῖν,  
καὶ φέρει σαφές τι πρᾶγος ἐσθλὸν ἢ κακὸν κλύειν.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

ὦ γῆς ἀπάσης Ἀσιάδος πολίσματα,

ὦ Περσὶς αἶα καὶ μέγας πλούτου λιμήν, 250

ὥς ἐν μιᾷ πληγῇ κατέφθαρται πολὺς

ὄλβος, τὸ Περσῶν δ' ἄνθος οἴχεται πεσόν.

ἄμοι, κακὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἀγγέλλειν κακά·

ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη πᾶν ἀναπτύξαι πάθος,

Πέρσαι· στρατὸς γὰρ πᾶς ὅλωλε βαρβάρων. 255

Χο. ἄνι' ἄνια κακὰ [στρ. α.

νεόκοτα καὶ δαί'. αἰαῖ,

διαλίνεσθε, Πέρσαι,

τόδ' ἄχος κλύουντες.

Αγ. ὥς πάντα γ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνα διαπεπραγμένα· 260

αὐτὸς δ' ἀέλπτως νόστιμον βλέπω φάος.

Χο. ἡ μακροβίOTOS [ἀντ. α.

ὅδε γέ τις αἰὼν ἐφάνθη

γεραιοῖς, ἀκούειν

τόδε πῆμ' ἄελπτον. 265

245 κιόντων Wecklein: ἰόντων codd. 246 ναμερτῇ Porson:  
νημαρτῇ (ε ex a factum) M 250 μέγας (ex Eur. Orest. 1077)  
Nauck: πολὺς codd.

# ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

Αγ. καὶ μὴν παρών γε κοῦ λόγους ἄλλων κλύων,  
Πέρσαι, φράσαιμ' ἄν οἷ' ἐπορσύνθη κακά.

Χο. ὅτοτοτοῖ, μάταν [στρ. β.]  
τὰ πολέα βέλεα παμμιγῇ  
τᾶσδ' ἀπ' Ἀσίδος ἦλθεν αἶας 270  
δάαν Ἑλλάδα χώραν.

Αγ. πλήθουσι νεκρῶν δυσπότηως ἐφθαρμένων  
Σαλαμῖνος ἀκταὶ πᾶς τε πρόσχωρος τόπος.

Χο. ὅτοτοτοῖ, φίλων [ἀντ. β.]  
ἀλίδονα μέλεα πολυβαφῇ 275  
κατθανόντα λέγεις φέρεσθαι  
†πλαγκτοῖς ἐν διπλάκεσσιν.

Αγ. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἥρκει τόξα, πᾶς δ' ἀπώλλυτο  
στρατὸς δαμασθεὶς ναίοισιν ἐμβολαῖς.

Χο. ἴνζ' ἀποτμον Πέρσαις [στρ. γ.]  
δυσαιανῇ βοὰν 281  
δάους, ὥς πάντα παγκάκως  
ἦνυσαν, αἰαῖ, στρατοῦ φθαρέντος.

Αγ. ᾧ πλεῖστον ἔχθος ὄνομα Σαλαμῖνος κλύειν·  
φεῦ, τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὥς στένω μεμνημένος. 285

Χο. στυγναί γ' Ἀθᾶναι δάοις· [ἀντ. γ.]  
μεμνήσθαί τοι πάρα

266 γε rec. : τε M G plerique 268 ὅτοτοτοῖ τοῖ M 269 πολέα  
Lachmann : πολλὰ codd. 270 τᾶσδ' Weil : γᾶς codd. ἦλθεν  
αἶας Weil : ἦλθ' ἐπ' αἶαν codd. 271 δάαν Blomfield (δαῖαν rec.) :  
δῖαν M G 275 μέλεα (adscriptum γρ. μέλεα) rec. : σώματα  
codd. 277 suspectum πλαγκτοῦς Wecklein, σπιλάδεσσιν  
Hartung 280-1 Πέρσαις . . . βοὰν Wecklein : βοὰν . . . Πέρσαις  
codd. 282 δάους scripsi : δάοις codd. 283 ἦνυσαν Wecklein :  
ἔθεσαν codd. 286 Ἀθᾶναι rec. : Ἀθῆναι M

ὥς πολλὰς Περσίδων μάταν  
εὐνιδας ἔκτισσαν ἢ δ' ἀνάνδρους.

- Ατ. σιγῶ πάλαι δύστηνος ἐκπεπληγμένη 290  
κακοῖς· ὑπερβάλλει γὰρ ἦδε συμφορά,  
τὸ μήτε λέξαι μήτ' ἐρωτῆσαι πάθη.  
ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη πημονὰς βροτοῖς φέρειν  
θεῶν διδόντων· πᾶν δ' ἀναπτύξας πάθος  
λέξον καταστάς, κεῖ στένεις κακοῖς ὅμως, 295  
τίς οὐ τέθνηκε, τίνα δὲ καὶ πενθήσομεν  
τῶν ἀρχελείων, ὅστ' ἐπὶ σκηπτουχίᾳ  
ταχθεὶς ἀνάνδρον τάξιν ἡρήμου θανών.
- Αγ. Ξέρξης μὲν αὐτὸς ζῇ τε καὶ βλέπει φάος.
- Ατ. ἐμοῖς μὲν εἶπας δώμασιν φάος μέγα 300  
καὶ λευκὸν ἡμαρ νυκτὸς ἐκ μελαγχίμου.
- Αγ. Ἀρτεμβάρης δὲ μυρίας ἵππου βραβεὺς  
στύφλους παρ' ἀκτὰς θείνεται Σιληνιῶν.  
χὼ χιλίαρχος Δαδάκης πληγῇ δορὸς  
πήδημα κοῦφον ἐκ νεὼς ἀφήλατο· 305  
Τενάγων τ' ἀριστεὺς Βακτρίων ἰθαγενὴς  
θαλασσόπληκτον νῆσον Αἴαντος πολεῖ.  
Λίλαιος, Ἀρσάμης τε κἀργήστης τρίτος,  
οἷδ' ἀμφὶ νῆσον τὴν πελειοθρέμμουνα  
δινούμενοι κύρισσον ἰσχυρὰν χθόνα· 310  
πηγαῖς τε Νείλου γειτονῶν Αἰγυπτίου  
Ἀρκεύς, Ἀδεύης, καὶ Φερεσσάκης τρίτος,  
Φαρνοῦχος, οἷδε ναὺς ἐκ μιᾶς πέσον.  
Χρυσεὺς Μάταλλος μυριόνταρχος θανών,  
ἵππου μελαίνης ἡγεμὼν τρισμυρίας, 315  
πυρσὴν ζαπληθὴ δάσκιον γενειάδα

289 εὐνιδας ἔκτισσαν Boeckh : ἔκτισαν εὐνίδας codd. 299 βλέπει  
φάος schol. ad Ar. Ran. 1060 : φάος βλέπει codd. 302 ἵππουσ  
(rasura in ἵππου factum) M 306 ἀριστεὺς Blomfield : ἀριστος codd.  
310 δινούμενοι Wecklein : νικωμένοι codd. 312 Φερεσσάκης Bothe :  
φρεσεύησ M : φερεσσεύης recs. 316 πυρσὴν Porson : πυρὰν M, πυρρὰν m

ἔτεγγ', ἀμείβων χρώτα πορφυρᾷ βαφῇ.  
καὶ Μᾶγος Ἄραβος, Ἀρτάβης τε Βάκτριος,  
σκληρᾶς μέτοικος γῆς, ἐκεῖ κατέφθιτο.

Ἄμιστρις Ἀμφιστρεὺς τε πολύπονον δόρυ 320

νωμῶν, ὃ τ' ἐσθλὸς Ἀριόμαρδος Σάρδεσι  
πένθος παρασχών, Σεισάμης θ' ὁ Μύσιος,  
Θάρυβίς τε πεντήκοντα πεντάκισ νεῶν

ταγός, γένος Λυρναῖος, εὐειδὴς ἀνὴρ,  
κεῖται θανὼν δείλαιος οὐ μάλ' εὐτυχῶς· 325

Σύννεσις τε πρῶτος εἰς εὐψυχίαν,  
Κιλικῶν ἑπαρχος, εἷς ἀνὴρ πλείστον πόνον  
ἐχθροῖς παρασχών, εὐκλεῶς ἀπώλετο.

τοσόνδε ταγῶν νῦν ὑπεμνήσθην πέρι.  
πολλῶν παρόντων δ' ὀλίγ' ἀπαγγέλλω κακά. 330

Ατ. αἰαῖ, κακῶν ὕψιστα δὴ κλύω τάδε,  
αἴσχη τε Πέρσαις καὶ λιγέα κωκύματα.

ἀτὰρ φράσον μοι τοῦτ' ἀναστρέψας πάλιν·  
πόσον δὲ πλῆθος ἦν νεῶν Ἑλληνίδων,

ὥστ' ἀξιῶσαι Περσικῶ στρατεύματι 335  
μάχην συνάψαι ναῖοισιν ἐμβολαῖς;

Αγ. πλῆθους μὲν ἂν σάφ' ἴσθ' ἑκατι βάρβαρον  
ναυσὶν κρατῆσαι. καὶ γὰρ Ἑλλησιν μὲν ἦν

ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἐς τριακάδας δέκα  
ναῶν, δεκάς δ' ἦν τῶνδε χωρὶς ἑκκριτος· 340

Ξέρξῃ δέ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιάς μὲν ἦν  
ῶν ἦγε πλῆθος, αἱ δ' ὑπέркоποι τάχει  
ἐκατὸν οἷς ἦσαν ἐπτά θ'. ᾧδ' ἔχει λόγος.

μή σοι δοκοῦμεν τῇδε λειφθῆναι μάχῃ;  
ἀλλ' ᾧδε δαίμων τις κατέφθειρε στρατόν, 345

317 πορφυρᾷ Porson : πορφυρέα M 321 v. ob metrum inusi-  
tatum suspectus, fort. iniuria 327 ἑπαρχος V : ἄπαρχος M

329 τοσόνδε ταγῶν Weil : τοιῶνδ' ἀρχόντων codd. νῦν m, rec. : om. M

330 δ' rec. : om. M 334 δὲ rec. aliquot : δὴ M cett. : τι Turnebus

337 βάρβαρον Heath : βαρβάρων codd. 342 ὑπέркоποι Wakefield :

ὑπέркоποι codd. 344 λειφθῆναι rec. : ληφθῆναι M

τάλαντα βρίςας οὐκ ἰσορρόπῃ τύχῃ.

θεοὶ πόλιν σῶζουσι Παλλάδος θεᾶς.

Ατ. ἔτ' ἄρ' Ἀθηνῶν ἔστ' ἀπόρθητος πόλις;

Αγ. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἕρκος ἐστὶν ἀσφαλές.

Ατ. ἀρχὴ δὲ ναυσὶ συμβολῆς τίς ἦν, φράσον· 350  
τίνες κατήρξαν, πότερον Ἑλληνες, μάχης,  
ἢ παῖς ἐμός, πλήθει καταυχήσας νεῶν;

Αγ. ἦρξεν μέν, ὦ δέσποινα, τοῦ παντὸς κακοῦ  
φανείς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων ποθέν. 355  
ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἑλλήν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων στρατοῦ

ἐλθὼν ἔλεξε παιδὶ σῶ Ξέρξῃ τάδε,  
ὥς εἰ μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἴξεται κνέφας,  
Ἑλληνες οὐ μενοῖεν, ἀλλὰ σέλμασιν  
ναῶν ἐπενθορόντες ἄλλος ἄλλοσε 360  
δρασμῷ κρυφαίῳ βίοντον ἐκωσοίατο.

ὁ δ' εὐθύς ὥς ἤκουσεν, οὐ ξυνεῖς δόλον  
Ἑλλήνος ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ τὸν θεῶν φθόνον,  
πᾶσιν προφωνεῖ τόνδε ναυάρχους λόγον,  
εἵτ' ἂν φλέγων ἀκτῖσιν ἥλιος χθόνα  
λήξῃ, κνέφας δὲ τέμενος αἰθέρος λάβῃ, 365

τάξαι νεῶν μὲν στῖφος ἐν στοίχοις τρισὶν  
ἐκπλους φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἀλirρόθους,  
ἄλλας δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσον Αἴαντος πέριξ·  
ὥς εἰ μόρον φευξοίαθ' Ἑλληνες κακόν,  
ναυσὶν κρυφαίως δρασμὸν εὐρόντες τινά, 370

πᾶσιν στέρεσθαι κρατὸς ἦν προκείμενον.  
τοσαῦτ' ἔλεξε κάρθ' ὑπ' εὐθύμου φρενός·  
οὐ γὰρ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ θεῶν ἠπίστατο.  
οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀκόσμως, ἀλλὰ πειθάρχῳ φρενὶ  
δεῖπνόν <τ'> ἐπορσύνοντο, ναυβάτης τ' ἀνὴρ 375

347 paragrapho praefixa alii personae tribuunt codd.: recte nuntio  
continuavit Schütz 358 μενοῖεν Monk: μένοιεν codd. 359 ἐπεν-  
θορόντες G V: ἐπανθορόντες M recc. 366 μὲν στῖφος Brunck:  
στῖφος μὲν M G recc. 375 τ' add. Scaliger

τροποῦτο κώπην σκαλμὸν ἀμφ' εὐήρετμον.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ φέγγος ἡλίου κατέφθιτο  
 καὶ νύξ ἐπήει, πᾶς ἀνὴρ κώπης ἄναξ  
 ἐς ναῦν ἐχώρει πᾶς θ' ὅπλων ἐπιστάτης·  
 τάξις δὲ τάξιν παρεκάλει νεὼς μακρᾶς· 380  
 πλέουσι δ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἦν τεταγμένος,  
 καὶ πάννυχτοι δὴ διάπλοον καθίστασαν  
 ναῶν ἀνακτες πάντα ναυτικὸν λεών.  
 καὶ νύξ ἐχώρει, κοῦ μάλ' Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς  
 κρυφαῖον ἔκπλουν οὐδαμῇ καθίστατο· 385  
 ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι λευκόπωλος ἡμέρα  
 πᾶσαν κατέσχε γαῖαν εὐφεγγίης ἰδεῖν,  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἡχῇ κέλαδος Ἑλλήνων πάρα  
 μολπηδὸν ἠυφήμησεν, ὄρθιον δ' ἅμα  
 ἀντηλάλαξε νησιώτιδος πέτρας 390  
 ἡχώ· φόβος δὲ πᾶσι βαρβάροις παρῆν  
 γνώμης ἀποσφαλεῖσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς φυγῇ  
 παιᾶν' ἐφύμνουν σεμνὸν Ἑλληνες τότε,  
 ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην ὁρμῶντες εὐψύχῳ θράσει·  
 σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν. 395  
 εὐθὺς δὲ κώπης ῥοθιάδος ξυνεμβολῇ  
 ἔπαισαν ἄλμην βρύχιον ἐκ κελεύματος,  
 θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν.  
 τὸ δεξιὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐτάκτως κέρας  
 ἡγείτο κόσμῳ, δεύτερον δ' ὁ πᾶς στόλος 400  
 ἐπεξεχώρει, καὶ παρῆν ὁμοῦ κλύειν  
 πολλὴν βοήν, 'ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἴτε,  
 ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ  
 παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρώων ἔδη,  
 θήκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών.' 405  
 καὶ μὴν παρ' ἡμῶν Περσίδος γλώσσης ῥόθος  
 ὑπηντίαζε, κοῦκέτ' ἦν μέλλειν ἀκμή.



εὐθὺς δὲ ναὺς ἐν νηὶ χαλκῆρῃ στόλον  
 ἔπαισεν· ἦρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνικῇ  
 ναὺς, ἀποθραύει πάντα Φοινίσσης νεὼς 410  
 κόρυμβ', ἐπ' ἄλλην δ' ἄλλος ἠϋθυνεν δόρυ.  
 τὰ πρῶτα μέν νυν ῥεῦμα Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ  
 ἀντεῖχεν· ὥς δὲ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ νεῶν  
 ἤθροιστ', ἀρωγὴ δ' οὔτις ἀλλήλοις παρήν,  
 αὐτοὶ θ' ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐμβόλοις χαλκοστόμοις 415  
 παίοντ', ἔθραυον πάντα κωπήρῃ στόλον,  
 Ἑλληνικαὶ τε νῆες οὐκ ἀφρασμόνως  
 κύκλῳ πέριξ ἔθεινον, ὑπτιοῦτο δὲ  
 σκάφη νεῶν, θάλασσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἦν ἰδεῖν,  
 ναυαγίων πλήθουσα καὶ φόνου βροτῶν. 420  
 ἀκταὶ δὲ νεκρῶν χοιράδες τ' ἐπλήθουν,  
 φυγῇ δ' ἀκόσμφ' πᾶσα ναὺς ἠρέσσετο,  
 ὅσαιπερ ἦσαν βαρβάρου στρατεύματος.  
 τοὶ δ' ὥστε θύννους ἢ τιν' ἰχθύων βόλον  
 ἀγαῖσι κωπῶν θραύμασιν τ' ἐρειπίων 425  
 ἔπαιον, ἐρράχιζον· οἰμωγὴ δ' ὁμοῦ  
 κωκύμασιν κατεῖχε πελαγίαν ἅλα,  
 ἕως κελαινῆς νυκτὸς ὄμμ' ἀφείλετο.  
 κακῶν δὲ πλῆθος, οὐδ' ἂν εἰ δέκ' ἤματα  
 στοιχηγοροίην, οὐκ ἂν ἐκπλήσαιμί σοι. 430  
 εὖ γὰρ τόδ' ἴσθι, μηδ' αὖ ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ  
 πλῆθος τοσουτάριθμον ἀνθρώπων θανεῖν.

Ατ. αἰαῖ, κακῶν δὴ πέλαγος ἔρρωγεν μέγα

Πέρσαις τε καὶ πρόπαντι βαρβάρων γένει.

Αγ. εὖ νυν τόδ' ἴσθι, μηδέπω μεσοῦν κακόν· 435

412 νυν V : νῦν M 415 θ' Blomfield : δ' codd. ὑφ' αὐτῶν rec. :  
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν M ἐμβόλοις Stanley : ἐμβολαῖς codd. 422 ἀκόσμφ' rec. :  
 ἀκόσμως codd. cett. 426 οἰμωγὴ rec. : οἰμωγῆσ M 430 στοι-  
 χηγοροίην rec. : στοιχειγοροίην (o supra a scr.) M 431 μηδ' αὖ  
 rec. : μὴδ' ἂν M 432 τοσουτάριθμον rec. et schol. : τοσοῦτ'  
 ἀριθμὸν M 433 ἔρρωγεν rec. : ἔρρω.ται (correctum in ἔρρωγε m<sub>1</sub>) M  
 435 νῦν M

τοιᾶδ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦλθε συμφορὰ πάθους,  
ὥς τοῖσδε καὶ δις ἀντισηκῶσαι ῥοπή.

Ατ. καὶ τίς γένοιτ' ἂν τῇσδ' ἔτ' ἐχθίων τύχη;  
λέξον τίν' αὖ φῆς τήνδε συμφορὰν στρατῶ  
ἐλθεῖν κακῶν ῥέπουσαν ἐς τὰ μάσσονα.

440

Αγ. Περσῶν ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν ἀκμαῖοι φύσιν,  
ψυχὴν τ' ἄριστοι κεύγένειαν ἐκπρεπεῖς,  
αὐτῶ τ' ἄνακτι πίστιν ἐν πρώτοις ἀεί,  
τεθνᾶσιν αἰσχυρῶς δυσκλεεστάτῳ μόρῳ.

Ατ. οἱ γὰρ τάλαινα συμφορᾶς κακῆς, φίλοι.  
ποῖῳ μόρῳ δὲ τούσδε φῆς ὀλωλέναι;

445

Αγ. νῆσός τις ἐστὶ πρόσθε Σαλαμῖνος τόπων,  
βαιά, δύσορμος ναυσίν, ἥν ὁ φιλόχορος  
Πᾶν ἐμβατεύει, ποντίας ἀκτῆς ἐπι.

ἐνταῦθα πέμπει τούσδ', ὅπως, ὅταν νεῶν

450

φθαρέντες ἐχθροὶ νῆσον ἐκσφῶζοιτο,  
κτείνουεν εὐχείρωτον Ἑλλήνων στρατόν,  
φίλους δ' ὑπεκσῶζοιεν ἐναλίων πόρων,  
κακῶς τὸ μέλλον ἱστορῶν. ὥς γὰρ θεὸς  
ναῶν ἔδωκε κῦδος Ἑλλησιν μάχης,

455

αὐθημερὸν φράξαντες εὐχάλκοις δέμας  
ὅπλοισι ναῶν ἐξέθρῳσκον· ἀμφὶ δὲ  
κυκλοῦντο πᾶσαν νῆσον, ὥστ' ἀμηχανεῖν  
ὅποι τράποιντο. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ χερῶν

πέτροισιν ἡράσσοντο, τοξικῆς τ' ἀπὸ

460

θώμιγγος ἰοὶ προσπίτνοντες ὠλλυσαν·

τέλος δ' ἐφορμηθέντες ἐξ ἐνὸς ῥόθου

παίουσι, κρεοκοποῦσι δυστήνων μέλη,

ἕως ἀπάντων ἐξαπέφθειραν βίον.

Ξέρξης δ' ἀνῶμωξεν κακῶν ὁρῶν βάθος·

465

ἔδραν γὰρ εἶχε παντὸς εὐαγῇ στρατοῦ,

438 τῇσδ' ἔτ' rec. : τῇσδέ τ' M G rec. 444 αἰσχυρῶς M G V P :  
οἰκτρῶς rec. 450 ὅταν] ὅτ' ἐκ Elmsley : frustra 461 ὠλλυσαν  
recc. : ὠλλυσαν M sed v. ad 13 466 εὐαγῇ iniuria suspectum

ὑψηλὸν ὄχθον ἄγχι πελαγίας ἁλός·  
 ῥήξας δὲ πέπλους κἀνακωκύσας λιγύ,  
 πεζῷ παραγγείλας ἄφαρ στρατεύματι,  
 ἦσ' ἀκόσμφ' ἔνν' φυγῇ. τοιάνδε σοι 470  
 πρὸς τῇ πάροιθε συμφορὰν στένειν πάρα.

Ατ. ὦ στυγνὲ δαῖμον, ὥς ἄρ' ἔψευσας φρενῶν  
 Πέρσας· πικρὰν δὲ παῖς ἔμὸς τιμωρίαν  
 κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἡῦρε, κοῦκ ἀπήρκεσαν  
 οὐς πρόσθε Μαραθῶν βαρβάρων ἀπώλεσεν· 475  
 ὦν ἀντίποινα παῖς ἔμὸς πράξειν δοκῶν  
 τοσόνδε πλῆθος πημάτων ἐπέσπασεν.  
 σὺ δ' εἰπέ, ναῶν αἰ πεφεύγασιν μόρον,  
 ποῦ τάσδ' ἔλειπες· οἴσθα σημῆναι τορῶς;

Αγ. ναῶν γε ταγοὶ τῶν λελειμμένων σύδην 480  
 κατ' οὔρον οὐκ εὐκοσμον αἴρονται φυγῇ·  
 στρατὸς δ' ὁ λοιπὸς ἔν τε Βοιωτῶν χθονὶ  
 διώλλυθ', οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ κρηναῖον γάνος  
 δίψῃ πονοῦντες, οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἄσθματος κενοὶ  
 διεκπερῶμεν ἔς τε Φωκέων χθόνα 485  
 καὶ Δωρίδ' αἶαν, Μηλιᾷ τε κόλπον, οὗ  
 Σπερχειὸς ἄρδει πεδῖον εὐμενεῖ ποτῷ·  
 κἀντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς γῆς Ἀχαιίδος πέδον  
 καὶ Θεσσαλῶν πόλεις ὑπεσπανισμένους  
 βορᾶς ἐδέξαντ'· ἔνθα δὴ πλείστοι θάνον 490  
 δίψῃ τε λιμῷ τ'· ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἦν τάδε.  
 Μαγνητικὴν δὲ γαίαν ἔς τε Μακεδόνων  
 χώραν ἀφικόμεσθ', ἐπ' Ἀξίου πόρον,  
 Βόλβης θ' ἔλειον δόνακα, Πάγγαιόν τ' ὄρος,  
 Ἡδωνίδ' αἶαν· νυκτὶ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ θεὸς 495  
 χειμῶν ἄωρον ὦρσε, πῆγνυσιν δὲ πᾶν

470 ἦσ' Robortello: ἦσ' M: ἥϊξ' recc.: ἥισσ' G. C. W. Schneider  
 471 στένειν πάρα Dindorf: παρὰ (mutavit in πάρα m) στένειν M  
 474 ἀπήρκεσαν recc.: ἀπήρκεσε M 477 τοσόνδε recc.: τοσῶν δὲ M  
 478-9 αἰ. . . τάσδ'] οἱ . . . τοῦσδ' Thurot, quem frustra probant edd.  
 480 γε Robortello: δὲ codd. 481 αἴρονται Elmsley: αἰροῦνται M:  
 αἰροῦνται recc. 489 πόλεις L. Schiller: πόλιν M: πόλιν recc.

ῥέεθρον ἄγνοῦ Στρυμόνος. θεοὺς δέ τις  
 τὸ πρὶν νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ τότ' ἠΰχετο  
 λιταῖσι, γαῖαν οὐρανόν τε προσκυνῶν.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ θεοκλυτῶν ἐπαύσατο 500  
 στρατός, περᾶ κρυσταλλοπῆγα διὰ πόρον·  
 χῶστις μὲν ἡμῶν πρὶν σκεδασθῆναι θεοῦ  
 ἀκτῖνας ὠρμήθη, σεσσωμένος κυρεῖ.  
 φλέγων γὰρ αὐγαῖς λαμπρὸς ἡλίου κύκλος  
 μέσον πόρον διῆκε, θερμαίνων φλογί· 505  
 πίπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν· ἡτύχει δέ τοι  
 ὅστις τάχιστα πνεῦμ' ἀπέρρηξεν βίου.  
 ὅσοι δὲ λοιποὶ κᾶτυχον σωτηρίας,  
 Θρήκην περάσαντες μόγις πολλῷ πόνῳ,  
 ἤκουσιν ἐκφυγόντες, οὐ πολλοὶ τινες, 510  
 ἐφ' ἐστιοῦχον γαῖαν· ὥς στένειν πόλιν  
 Περσῶν, ποθοῦσαν φιλτάτην ἥβην χθονός.  
 ταῦτ' ἔστ' ἀληθὴ· πολλὰ δ' ἐκλείπω λέγων  
 κακῶν ἃ Πέρσαις ἐγκατέσκηψεν θεός.

Χο. ὦ δυσπρόνητε δαῖμον, ὥς ἄγαν βαρὺς 515  
 ποδοῖν ἐνήλλου παντὶ Περσικῷ γένει.

Ατ. οἱ γὰρ τάλαινα διαπεπραγμένου στρατοῦ·  
 ὦ νυκτὸς ὄψις ἐμφανῆς ἐνυπνίῳ,  
 ὥς κάρτα μοι σαφῶς ἐδήλωσας κακά.  
 ὑμεῖς δὲ φαύλως αὐτ' ἄγαν ἐκρίνατε. 520  
 ὁμῶς δ', ἐπειδὴ τῇδ' ἐκύρωσεν φάτις  
 ὑμῶν, θεοῖς μὲν πρῶτον εὐξασθαι θέλω·  
 ἐπειτα γῇ τε καὶ φθιτοῖς δωρήματα  
 ἤξω λαβοῦσα πέλανον ἐξ οἴκων ἐμῶν,—  
 ἐπίσταμαι μὲν ὥς ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις, 525  
 ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν εἴ τι δὴ λῶον πέλοι.  
 ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ πρὸ τοῖσδε τοῖς πεπραγμένοις

506 ἡτύχει Paley : εὐτυχεῖ M V : εὐτυχῆς recc. plerique 516 ἐνήλ-  
 λου recc. : ἐνήλου M G 517 οἱ γὰρ Porson : οἱ ἐγὼ M : οἱ ἐγὼ recc.  
 527 ὑμᾶς recc. : ἡμᾶς M

πιστοῖσι πιστὰ ξυμφέρειν βουλευματα·  
καὶ παῖδ', ἐάν περ δεῦρ' ἐμοῦ πρόσθεν μόλῃ,  
παρηγορεῖτε, καὶ προπέμπετ' ἐς δόμους, 530  
μὴ καὶ τι πρὸς κακοῖσι προσθῇται κακόν.

Χο. ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, νῦν <μὲν> Περσῶν  
τῶν μεγαλαύχων καὶ πολυάνδρων  
στρατιὰν ὀλέσας  
ἄστυ τὸ Σούσων ἥδ' Ἀγβατάνων 535  
πένθει δνοφερῶ κατέκρυσας·  
πολλαὶ δ' ἀταλαῖς χερσὶ καλύπτρας  
κατερεικόμεναι  
διαμυδαλέοις δάκρυσι κόλπους  
τέγγουσ', ἄλγους μετέχουσαι. 540  
αἱ δ' ἀβρόγιοι Περσίδες ἀνδρῶν  
ποθέουσαι ἰδεῖν ἀρτιζυγίαν,  
λέκτρων εὐνὰς ἀβροχίτωνας,  
χλιδανῆς ἥβης τέρψιν, ἀφείσαι,  
πενθοῦσι γόοις ἀκορεστοτάτοις. 545  
καὶ γὰρ δὲ μόρον τῶν οἰχομένων  
αἶρω δοκίμως πολυπενθῇ.

νῦν δὴ πρόπασα μὲν στένει [στρ. α.  
γαῖ' Ἀσὶς ἐκκεκενωμένα.  
Ξέρξης μὲν ἄγαγεν, ποποῖ, 550  
Ξέρξης δ' ἀπώλεσεν, τοτοῖ,  
Ξέρξης δὲ πάντ' ἐπέσπε δυσφρόνως  
βαρίδεσσι ποντίαις.

528 πιστοῖσι recc. : πιστοῖς M 531 καὶ τι recc. : κέτι M  
προσθῇται (sed pravo accentu) Turnebus : πρόσθῃτε codd. 532 μὲν  
add. Schütz 537 ἀταλαῖς V recc. : ἀπαλαῖς M : ἀπαλαῖς recc.  
538 in fine v. μητέρες οἰκτραὶ add. Dindorf 548 νῦν δὴ Porson :  
νῦν γὰρ δὴ codd. plerique 549 Ἀσὶς Blomfield : ἀσίας codd.  
ἐκκεκενωμένα Hermann : ἐκκενουμένα M G 550 μὲν Porson : μὲν  
γὰρ codd. ἄγαγεν Blomfield : ἤγαγεν codd. 552-61 in M  
omissa adscriptis m 553 βαρίδεσσι ποντίαις recc. : βαρίδεσ τε  
ποντίαι (servatis verae lectionis accentibus) m

τίπτε Δαρείος μὲν οὖ-  
τω τότ' ἀβλαβῆς ἐπῆν  
τόξαρχος πολιῆταις,  
Σουσίδαις φίλος ἄκτωρ;

555

πεζοὺς δὲ καὶ θαλασσίους  
λινόπτεροι κυανώπιδες  
νᾶες μὲν ἄγαγον, ποποῖ,  
νᾶες δ' ἀπώλεσαν, τοτοῖ,  
νᾶες πανωλέθροισιν ἐμβολαῖς,  
ἥδ' Ἰαόνων χέρες.  
τυτθὰ δ' ἐκφυγεῖν ἄνακτ'  
αὐτὸν εἰσακούομεν  
Θρήκης ἄμ πεδιήρεις  
δυσχίμους τε κελεύθους.

[ἀντ. α.

560

τοὶ δ' ἄρα πρωτόμοιροι, φεῦ,  
ληφθέντες πρὸς ἀνάγκας, ἥέ,  
ἄκτας ἀμφὶ Κυχρείας, δᾶ,  
〈ἔρρουσι〉 στένε καὶ δακνά-  
ζου, βαρὺ δ' ἀμβόασον  
οὐράνι' ἄχη, δᾶ·  
τεῖνε δὲ δυσβάνκτον  
βοᾶτιν τάλαωαν αὐδάν.

[στρ. β.

570

γναπτόμενοι δὲ δῖνα, φεῦ,  
σκύλλονται πρὸς ἀναύδων, ἥέ,

[ἀντ. β.

575

554 τίπτε rec. : τί ποτε codd. cett. 556 πολιῆταις Victorius :  
πολήταις m 557 Σουσίδαις recc. duo : σουσίδες m 558 δὲ καὶ  
Paley : τε καὶ rec. : τε γὰρ καὶ m 559 λινόπτεροι Schütz : αἱ δ'  
δόμπτεροι codd. 562 πανωλέθροισιν V : πανολεθρίοισιν (ω ex o fac-  
tum m.) M 563 ἥδ' . . . χέρες Dindorf : διὰ δ' . . . χέρας codd.  
565 εἰσακούομεν Pauw : ὡς ἀκούομεν codd. 567 δυσχίμους Ar-  
naldus : δυσχειμέρους codd. 568 πρωτόμοιροι rec. : πρωτόμοροι M  
plurique aliis placet πρωτομόριο (Blomfield) hic, et 576 δ' ἀλλ' δεινὰ  
cum codd. recc. 569 ληφθέντες recc. : λειφθέντες M V ἀνάγκας  
Blomfield : ἀνάγκαν codd. 570 κυχρείας (π supra χ scr. m.) M  
571 ἔρρουσι· add. Dindorf 576 δὲ δῖνα Hermann : δ' ἀλλ' δεινά M

παίδων τὰς ἀμιάντου, ὁᾶ.

πενθεῖ δ' ἄνδρα δόμος στερη-

θεῖς, τοκέες τ' ἄπαιδες

580

δαιμόνι' ἄχη, ὁᾶ,

δυσρόμενοι γέροντες

τὸ πᾶν δὴ κλύουσιν ἄλγος.

τοὶ δ' ἀνὰ γᾶν Ἀσίαν δὴν

[στρ. γ.

οὐκέτι περσονομοῦνται,

585

οὐδ' ἔτι δασμοφοροῦσιν

δεσποσύνοισιν ἀνάγκαις,

οὐδ' ἐς γᾶν προπίτνοντες

ἄζονται· βασιλεία

γὰρ διόλωλεν ἰσχύς.

590

οὐδ' ἔτι γλῶσσα βροτοῖσιν

[ἀντ. γ.

ἐν φυλακαῖς· λέλυνται γὰρ

λαὸς ἐλεύθερα βάζειν,

ὥς ἐλύθη ζυγὸν ἀλκᾶς.

αἵμαχθεῖσα δ' ἄρουραν

595

Αἴαντος περικλύστα

νᾶσος ἔχει τὰ Περσᾶν.

Ατ. φίλοι, κακῶν μὲν ὅστις ἔμπειρος κυρεῖ,

ἐπίσταται βροτοῖσιν ὥς ὅταν κλύδων

κακῶν ἐπέλθῃ πάντα δειμαίνειν φιλεῖ·

600

ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εὐροῇ, πεποιθέναι

τὸν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ δαίμον' οὐριεῖν τύχην.

580 τοκέες Porson: τοκῆες codd.

δαιμόνι' M: ἔρρανται δαιμόνι' recc.

581 δαιμόνι' Porson: ἐρα-

588 οὐδ' Heath: οὐτ'

codd. προπίτνοντες P: προσπίτνοντες M G recc.

589 ἄζονται

Halm: ἄρξονται codd. βασιλεία] post hanc vocem in M P legitur

ἡ βασιλική, quod e scholio illatum eiciendum

595 ἄρουραν

Porson: ἄρουρα codd.

597 Περσᾶν Blomfield: περσῶν codd.

598 ἔμπειρος G P: ἔμπορος M plerique

602 τύχην Weil: τύχης

codd.



ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἤδη πάντα μὲν φόβου πλέα  
 ἐν ὄμμασιν τὰνταῖα φαίνεται θεῶν,  
 βοᾷ δ' ἐν ὥσὶ κέλαδος οὐ παιώνιος· 605  
 τοῖα κακῶν ἔκπληξις ἐκφοβεῖ φρένας.  
 τοιγὰρ κέλευθον τήνδ' ἄνεν τ' ὀχημάτων  
 χλιδῆς τε τῆς πάροιθεν ἐκ δόμων πάλιν  
 ἔστειλα, παιδὸς πατρὶ πρευμανεῖς χοᾶς  
 φέρουσ', ἅπερ νεκροῖσι μειλικτήρια, 610  
 βοός τ' ἀφ' ἀγνῆς λευκὸν εὖποτον γάλα,  
 τῆς τ' ἀνθεμουργοῦ στάγμα, παμφαῆς μέλι,  
 λιβάσιν ὕδρηλαῖς παρθένου πηγῆς μέτα,  
 ἀκήρατόν τε μητρὸς ἀγρίας ἄπο  
 ποτὸν παλαιᾶς ἀμπέλου γάνος τόδε· 615  
 τῆς τ' αἰὲν ἐν φύλλοισι θαλλούσης βίου  
 ξανθῆς ἐλαίας καρπὸς εὐώδης πάρα,  
 ἄνθη τε πλεκτά, παμφόρου γαίας τέκνα.  
 ἀλλ', ὦ φίλοι, χοαῖσι ταῖσδε νερτέρων  
 ὕμνους ἐπευφημεῖτε, τὸν τε δαίμονα 620  
 Δαρεῖον ἀγκαλεῖσθε, γαπότους δ' ἐγὼ  
 τιμὰς προπέμψω τάσδε νερτέροις θεοῖς.

Χο. βασιλεία γύναι, πρέσβος Πέρσαις,  
 σύ τε πέμπε χοᾶς θαλάμους ὑπὸ γῆς,  
 ἡμεῖς θ' ὕμνοις αἰτησόμεθα 625  
 φθιμένων πομποῦς  
 εὖφρονας εἶναι κατὰ γαίας.  
 ἀλλὰ, χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἄγνοί,  
 Γῇ τε καὶ Ἑρμῇ, βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρων,  
 πέμψατ' ἐνερθεν ψυχὴν ἐς φῶς· 630  
 εἰ γάρ τι κακῶν ἄκος οἶδε πλέον,  
 μόνος ἂν θνητῶν πέρας εἴποι.

609 ἔστειλα] ἐστέλατο M: ἔστειλα τῷ recc.  
 Dindorf 618 πλεκτά] πληκτά M, ε supra η scr. m  
 λεῖσθε Dindorf: ἀνακαλεῖσθαι M: ἀνακαλεῖσθε recc.

616 βίον] ἴσον  
 621 ἀγκα-

ἦ ῥ' αἶει μου μακαρίτας [στρ. α.  
 ἰσοδαίμων βασιλεὺς  
 βάρβαρα σαφηνῇ 635  
 ἰέντος τὰ παναίοι' αἰ-  
 ανῇ δύσθροα βάγματ', ἦ  
 παντάλαν' ἄχη διαμβοάσω;  
 νέρθεν ἄρα κλύει μου;

ἀλλὰ σύ μοι Γᾶ τε καὶ ἄλλοι [ἀντ. α.  
 χθονίων ἀγεμόνες 641  
 δαίμονα μεγαυχῇ  
 ἰόντ' αἰνέσατ' ἐκ δόμων,  
 Περσῶν Σουσιγενῇ θεόν.  
 πέμπετε δ' ἄνω <τὸν> οἶον οὐπω 645  
 Περσὶς αἶ' ἐκάλυψεν.

ἦ φίλος ἀνὴρ, [ἦ] φίλος ὄχθος· [στρ. β.  
 φίλα γὰρ κέκευθεν ἦθη.  
 Ἄιδωνεὺς δ' ἀναπομπ-  
 ὸς ἀνείης, Ἄιδωνεὺς, 650  
 θεῖον ἀνάκτορα Δαριᾶνα. ἦέ.

οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνδρας ποτ' ἀπώλλυ [ἀντ. β.  
 πολεμοφθόροισιν ἄταις,  
 θεομήστωρ δ' ἐκικλή-  
 σκετο Πέρσαις; θεομήστωρ δ' 655  
 ἔσκειν, ἐπεὶ στρατὸν εὖ ποδούχει. ἦέ.

633 μου recc. : μοι M 637 βάγματ', ἦ Dindorf: βάγματα codd.  
 638 διαμβοάσω Dindorf: διαβοάσω codd. : λίαν βοάσω Wecklein  
 642 μεγαυχῇ rec. : μεγαλαυχῇ M V P plerique 645 πέμπεται,  
 ε supra scr. M τὸν add. Bothe 647 ἀνὴρ Burney : ἀνήρ codd.  
 ἦ seclutit Arnaldus 649 ἀνὰ πομπὸς M 651 θεῖον Schütz,  
 ἀνάκτορα Δαριᾶνα Dindorf: δαρεῖον οἶον ἄνακτα δαρεῖαν codd [in M  
 δαρεῖαν] 652 οὐδὲ Dindorf: οὔτε codd. ἀπώλλυ recc. : ἀπόλλυ M  
 656 εὖ ποδούχει (ex Polluce, 1. 98, aliisque) Dindorf: εὖ ἐποδώκει m,  
 recc. : ὑπεδώκει M [in G glossa διώκει exstat, unde διώκει conicit  
 Paley]

βαλήν, ἀρχαῖος βαλήν, [στρ. γ.  
ἴθι, ἰκοῦ·

ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθου,  
κροκόβαπτον ποδὸς εὐμαριν αἰείρων, 660  
βασιλείου τιάρας  
φάλαρον πιφαύσκων.  
βάσκε πάτερ ἄκακε Δαριάν, οἷ.

ὅπως αἰανῇ κλύης [ἀντ. γ.  
νέα τ' ἄχη, 665

δέσποτα δεσποτῶν φάνηθι.  
Στυγία γάρ τις ἐπ' ἀχλὺς πεπότηται·  
νεολαία γὰρ ἦδη  
κατὰ πᾶσ' ὄλωλεν. 670  
βάσκε πάτερ ἄκακε Δαριάν, οἷ.

αἰαῖ αἰαῖ· [ἐπωδός.

ὦ πολύκλαυτε φίλοισι θανών,  
†τί τάδε δυνάτα δυνάτα 675

περὶ τῇ σῇ δίδυμα διαγόεν ἀμάρτια;†  
πᾶσαι <γὰρ> γὰ τᾷδ' ἐξ-  
έφθινται τρίσκαλμοι  
νᾶες ἄναες ἄναες. 680

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

ὦ πιστὰ πιστῶν ἥλικές θ' ἥβης ἐμῆς  
Πέρσαι γεραιοί, τίνα πόλις ποιεῖ πόνον;  
στένει, κέκοπται, καὶ χαράσσεται πέδον.  
λεύσσω δ' ἄκουιν τὴν ἐμὴν τάφου πέλας

657 βαλήν rec. et Eustathius 381 : βαλλήν codd. plerique 661 τιά-  
ρας recc. : τηήρας M G 663 δαριάν M : δαρειάν m 666 δεσποτῶν  
Dindorf : δεσπότην codd. 671 δαρειάν M 675-6 corrupta  
sic in M leguntur nisi quod ante ἀμάρτια supra scripsit δι' m legas  
fortasse τί τάδε δυνάτα δυνάτα περισσὰ δίδυμα γοῆδ' ἀμάρτια; sed  
nihil certi : δυνάτα explicat scholium tanquam pro δυνάστα scriptum  
677 πᾶσαι Blomfield : πᾶσαν M, πάσα m γὰρ add. Dindorf  
677-8 ἐξέφθινται Blomfield : ἐξέφυντ' αἱ (οἱ supra u scr.) M : ἐξέφθιντ'  
αἱ recc. 682 πύλεις (i supra scr. m) M

ταρβῶ, χοὰς δὲ πρευμαμένης ἐδεξάμην.  
 ὑμεῖς δὲ θρηνεῖτ' ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτες τάφου  
 καὶ ψυχαγωγοῖς ὀρθιάζοντες γόοις  
 οἰκτρῶς καλεῖσθέ μ'. ἐστὶ δ' οὐκ εὐέξοδον,  
 ἄλλως τε πάντως χοὶ κατὰ χθονὸς θεοὶ  
 λαβεῖν ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἢ μεθιέναι.  
 ὅμως δ' ἐκείνοις ἐνδυναστεύσας ἐγὼ  
 ἤκω· τάχυνε δ', ὥς ἄμεμπτος ᾧ χρόνου.  
 τί δ' ἐστὶ Πέρσαις νεοχμὸν ἐμβριθεὶς κακόν;

Χο. σέβομαι μὲν προσιδέσθαι,  
 σέβομαι δ' ἀντία λέξαι  
 σέθεν ἀρχαίῳ περὶ τάρβει.  
 [στρ. 695]

Δα. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κάτωθεν ἦλθον σοῖς γόοις πεπεισμένος,  
 μή τι μακιστήρα μῦθον, ἀλλὰ σύντομον λέγων  
 εἰπὲ καὶ πέραινε πάντα, τὴν ἐμὴν αἰδῶ μεθείς.

Χο. δίεμαι μὲν χάρισσασθαι,  
 δίεμαι δ' ἀντία φάσθαι,  
 λέξας δύσλεκτα φίλοισιν.  
 [ἀντ. 701]

Δα. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δέος παλαιὸν σοὶ φρενῶν ἀνθίσταται,  
 τῶν ἐμῶν λέκτρων γεραιὰ ξύννομ' εὐγενὲς γύναι,  
 κλαυμάτων λήξασα τῶνδε καὶ γόων σαφές τί μοι  
 λέξον. ἀνθρώπεια δ' ἂν τοι πῆματ' ἂν τύχοι βροτοῖς.  
 πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ θαλάσσης, πολλὰ δ' ἐκ χέρσου κακὰ  
 γίγνεται θνητοῖς, ὃ μᾶσσων βίोटος ἦν ταθῇ πρόσω.

Ατ. ᾧ βροτῶν πάντων ὑπερσχὼν ὄλβον εὐτυχεῖ πότμῳ,  
 ὥς ἔως τ' ἔλευσσεσ ἀνγὰς ἡλίου ζηλωτὸς ᾧ  
 βίοτον εὐαίωνα Πέρσαις ὥς θεὸς διήγαγες,  
 νῦν τέ σε ζηλῶ θανόντα, πρὶν κακῶν ἰδεῖν βάθος.

687 ὀρθιάζοντες Robortello : ὀρθρίζοντες V : ῥοθιάζοντες M G cett.  
 688 καλεῖσθε recc. : καλεῖσθαι M 693 τί δ' G : τί M 697 πεπει-  
 σμένος om. M, add. m 700-1 δίεμαι Hermann : δέιομαι M : δίομαι  
 recc. 709 εὐτυχεῖ πότμῳ recc. : εὐτυχῇ πότμον M alii (sed in M  
 ἦ ex εἰ factum)

πάντα γάρ, Δαρεῖ, ἀκούσει μῦθον ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ·  
διαπεπόρθηται τὰ Περσῶν πράγμαθ', ὥς εἰπεῖν ἔπος.

Δα. τίνι τρόπῳ; λοιμοῦ τις ἦλθε σκηπτός, ἢ στάσις πόλει;

Ατ. οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλ' ἀμφ' Ἀθήνας πᾶς κατέφθαρται στρατός.

Δα. τίς δ' ἐμῶν ἐκείσε παίδων ἐστρατηλάτει; φράσον. 717

Ατ. θούριος Ξέρξης, κενώσας πᾶσαν ἡπείρου πλάκα.

Δα. πεζὸς ἢ ναύτης δὲ πείραν τήνδ' ἐμώρανεν τάλας;

Ατ. ἀμφοτέρα· διπλοῦν μέτωπον ἦν δυοῖν στρατευμάτων. 720

Δα. πῶς δὲ καὶ στρατὸς τοσούδε πεζὸς ἦνυσεν περᾶν;

Ατ. μηχαναῖς ἔξευξεν Ἑλλης πορθμόν, ὥστ' ἔχειν πόρον.

Δα. καὶ τόδ' ἐξέπραξεν, ὥστε Βόσπορον κληῖσαι μέγαν;

Ατ. ᾧδ' ἔχει· γνώμης δέ πού τις δαιμόνων ξυνήψατο.

Δα. φεῦ, μέγας τις ἦλθε δαίμων, ὥστε μὴ φρονεῖν καλῶς.

Ατ. ὥς ἰδεῖν τέλος πάρεστιν οἶον ἦνυσεν κακόν. 726

Δα. καὶ τί δὴ πράξασιν αὐτοῖς ᾧδ' ἐπιστενάζετε;

Ατ. ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεὶς πεζὸν ὤλεσε στρατόν.

Δα. ᾧδε παμπήδην δὲ λαὸς πᾶς κατέφθαρται δορί;

Ατ. πρὸς τὰδ' ὥς Σούσων μὲν ἄστν πᾶν κενανδρίαν στένειν.

Δα. ᾧ πόποι κεδνῆς ἄρωγῆς κἀπικουρίας στρατοῦ. 731

Ατ. Βακτρίων δ' ἔρρει πανώλης δῆμος, οὐδέ τις γέρων.

Δα. ᾧ μέλεος, οἷαν ἄρ' ἦβην ξυμμάχων ἀπώλεσεν.

Ατ. μονάδα δὲ Ξέρξην ἔρρημόν φασιν οὐ πολλῶν μέτα—

Δα. πῶς τε δὴ καὶ ποῖ τελευτᾶν; ἔστι τις σωτηρία; 735

Ατ. ἄσμενον μολεῖν γέφυραν γαῖν δυοῖν ζευκτηρίαν.

Δα. καὶ πρὸς ἡπείρου σεσῶσθαι τήνδε, τοῦτ' ἐτήτυμον;

Ατ. ναί· λόγος κρατεῖ σαφηνῆς τοῦτό γ', οὐδ' ἐνι στάσις.

Δα. φεῦ, ταχεῖά γ' ἦλθε χρησμῶν πράξις, ἐς δὲ παῖδ' ἐμὸν

Ζεὺς ἐπέσκηψεν τελευτὴν θεσφάτων· ἐγὼ δέ που 740

713 χρόνῳ] λόγῳ recc. aliquot 714 εἰπεῖν ἔπος recc.: ἔπος εἰπεῖν  
M alii 720 διοῖν (v post δ supra scr.) M στρατευμάτων recc.:  
στρατηλάτοι M V alii 721 τόσσοσ δε M 724 ᾧδ' M cett.:  
ὥσ δ' m 730 Σούσων m recc.: οὐσῶν M μέγ' Meyer: μὲν codd.  
στένειν Paley: στένει codd. 732 οὐδέ] οὐ δὴ Hartung 736 γαῖν  
(ex margine Askewi) Butler: ἐν codd. δυοῖν recc.: διοῖν (v  
supra scr.) M 738 γ' οὐδ' Campbell: γ' οὐκ codd.: κοῦκ Dindorf  
740 ἐπέσκηψεν recc.: ἀπέσκηψεν M

διὰ μακροῦ χρόνου τὰδ' ἠῦχουν ἐκτελευτήσειν θεούς·  
 ἀλλ' ὅταν σπεύδῃ τις αὐτός, χῶ θεὸς συνάπτεται.  
 νῦν κακῶν ἔοικε πηγὴ πᾶσιν ἠρύσθαι φίλοις.  
 παῖς δ' ἐμὸς τὰδ' οὐ κατειδὼς ἤνυσεν νέφ' θράσει·  
 ὅστις Ἑλλησποντον ἱρὸν δοῦλον ὧς δεσμώμασιν 745  
 ἤλπισε σχήσειν ῥέοντα, Βόσπορον ῥόον θεοῦ·  
 καὶ πόρον μετερρύθμιζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις  
 περιβαλὼν πολλὴν κέλευθον ἤνυσεν πολλῷ στρατῷ,  
 θνητὸς ὢν δὲ θεῶν ἀπάντων ᾤετ', οὐκ εὐβουλία,  
 καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσειν. πῶς τὰδ' οὐ νόστος φρενῶν  
 εἶχε παῖδ' ἐμόν; δέδοικα μὴ πολλὸς πλούτου πόνος 751  
 οὐμὸς ἀνθρώποις γένηται τοῦ φθάσαντος ἀρπαγῇ.

Ατ. ταῦτά τοι κακοῖς ὀμιλῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκεται  
 θούριος Ξέρξης· λέγουσι δ' ὡς σὺ μὲν μέγαν τέκνοις  
 πλούτου ἐκτήσω ξὺν αἰχμῇ, τὸν δ' ἀνανδρίας ὑπο 755  
 ἔνδον αἰχμάζειν, πατρῶον δ' ὄλβον οὐδὲν αὐξάνειν.  
 τοιάδ' ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ὀνειδῇ πολλάκις κλύων κακῶν  
 τήνδ' ἐβούλευσεν κέλευθον καὶ στρατεύμ' ἐφ' Ἑλλάδα.

Δα. τοιγάρ σφιν ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐξειργασμένον  
 μέγιστον, αἰμίμηστον, οἶον οὐδέπω 760  
 τόδ' ἄστν Σούσων ἐξεκείνωσεν πεσόν,  
 ἐξ οὔτε τιμὴν Ζεὺς ἀναξ τήνδ' ὥπασεν,  
 ἐν' ἀνδρ' ἀπάσης Ἀσίδος μηλοτρόφον  
 ταγεῖν, ἔχοντα σκῆπτρον εὐθυντήριον.  
 Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ· 765  
 ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσεν·  
 φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ᾤακαστρόφουν.  
 τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος, εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ,  
 ἄρξας ἔθηκε πᾶσιν εἰρήνην φίλοις·  
 Λυδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐκτήσατο, 770

749 δὲ θεῶν Döderlein: θεῶν δὲ codd. ἀπάντων Weil: πάντων  
 codd. 750 νόστος m, recc.: νόσος M 753 τοι Dindorf: τοῖς  
 codd. 754 μέγαν recc.: μέγα M 765 ἦν γὰρ M: γὰρ ἦν m  
 767 ᾤακαστρόφουν Porson: οἰακαστρόφουν codd. [sed vid. ad 13]

- Ἴωνίαν τε πᾶσαν ἤλασεν βία.  
 θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἤχθηρεν, ὥς εὖφρων ἔφν.  
 Κύρου δὲ παῖς τέταρτος ἠϋθυνε στρατόν.  
 πέμπτος δὲ Μάρδος ἤρξεν, αἰσχύνῃ πάτρα  
 θρόνοισί τ' ἀρχαίοισι· τὸν δὲ σὺν δόλῳ 775  
 Ἄρταφρένης ἔκτεινεν ἐσθλὸς ἐν δόμοις,  
 ξὺν ἀνδράσιν φίλοισιν, οἷς τόδ' ἦν χρέος.  
 [ἔκτος δὲ Μάραφισ, ἑβδομος δ' Ἄρταφρένης.]  
 καγὼ πάλου τ' ἔκυρσα τοῦπερ ἠθέλον,  
 κάπεστράτευσα πολλὰ σὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ· 780  
 ἀλλ' οὐ κακὸν τοσόνδε προσέβαλον πόλει.  
 Ξέρξης δ' ἐμὸς παῖς ὦν νέος νέα φρονεῖ,  
 κοῦ μνημονεύει τὰς ἐμὰς ἐπιστολάς·  
 εἶ γὰρ σαφῶς τόδ' ἴσ'τ', ἐμοὶ ξυνήλικες,  
 ἅπαντες ἡμεῖς, οἳ κράτη τάδ' ἔσχομεν, 785  
 οὐκ ἂν φανείμεν πῆματ' ἔρξαντες τόσα.
- Χο. τί οὖν, ἄναξ Δαρεῖε, ποῖ καταστρέφεις  
 λόγων τελευτήν; πῶς ἂν ἐκ τούτων ἔτι  
 πράσσοιμεν ὥς ἄριστα Περσικὸς λεώς;
- Δα. εἰ μὴ στρατεύοισθ' ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήνων τόπον, 790  
 μῆδ' εἰ στράτευμα πλείον ἢ τὸ Μηδικόν.  
 αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ γῆ ξύμμαχος κείνοις πέλει.
- Χο. πῶς τοῦτ' ἔλεξας, τίνι τρόπῳ δὲ συμμαχεῖ;
- Δα. κτείνουσα λιμῷ τοὺς ὑπερπόλλους ἄγαν.
- Χο. ἀλλ' εὐσταλῇ τοι λεκτὸν ἀροῦμεν στόλον. 795
- Δα. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ μείνας νῦν ἐν Ἑλλάδος τόποις  
 στρατὸς κυρήσει νοστήμου σωτηρίας.
- Χο. πῶς εἶπας; οὐ γὰρ πᾶν στράτευμα βαρβάρων  
 περᾶ τὸν Ἑλλης πορθμὸν Εὐρώπης ἄπο;

773 ἠϋθυνε Brunck: ἔθυνε ex ἡ.θυνε (fuerat ἠϋθυνε) factum M  
 774 δὲ Μάρδος recc.: δ' εμαρδος (ισ supra οσ scr. m) M 778 seclussit  
 Schütz δ' recc.: om. M 779 τ' recc.: δ' M V alii 782 ὦν  
 νέος Turnebus: νέος ἐὼν codd. [vide tamen ad 13] 794 ὑπερπόλλουσ  
 fuerat M: ὑπερπόλους m: ὑπερκόμπους recc. plerique 795 εὐσταλῇ  
 recc.: εὐσταλῇ M 796 τρόποις M



- Δα. παῦροί γε πολλῶν, εἴ τι πιστεῦσαι θεῶν 800  
 χρη̃ θεσφάτοισιν, ἐς τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα  
 βλέψαντα· συμβαίνει γὰρ οὐ τὰ μέν, τὰ δ' οὔ.  
 κεῖπερ τάδ' ἐστί, πλήθος ἔκκριτον στρατοῦ  
 λείπει κεναῖσιν ἐλπίσιν πεπεισμένος.  
 μίμνουσι δ' ἔνθα πεδίον Ἀσωπὸς ῥοαῖς 805  
 ἄρδει, φίλον πιάσμα Βοιωτῶν χθονί·  
 οὐ σφιν κακῶν ὕψιστ' ἐπαμμένει παθεῖν,  
 ὕβρεως ἄποινα κἀθέων φρονημάτων·  
 οἱ γῆν μολόντες Ἑλλάδ' οὐ θεῶν βρέτη  
 ῥδοῦντο συλᾶν οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεῶς· 810  
 βωμοὶ δ' αἰστοί, δαιμόνων θ' ἰδρύματα  
 πρόρριζα φύρδην ἐξανέστραπται βάθρων.  
 τοιγὰρ κακῶς δράσαντες οὐκ ἐλάσσονα  
 πάσχουσι, τὰ δὲ μέλλουσι, κοῦδέπω κακῶν  
 κρηνὶς ἀπέσβηκ', ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἐκπιδύεται. 815  
 τόσος γὰρ ἔσται πέλανος αἵματος σταγῆς  
 πρὸς γῇ Πλαταιῶν Δωρίδος λόγχης ὑπο·  
 θίνες νεκρῶν δὲ καὶ τριτοσπόρῳ γονῇ  
 ἄφωνα σημανοῦσιν ὄμμασιν βροτῶν  
 ὥς οὐχ ὑπέρφεν θνητὸν ὄντα χρη̃ φρονεῖν. 820  
 ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦς' ἐκάρπωσεν στάχυν  
 ἄτης, ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμᾶ θέρος.  
 τοιαῦθ' ὀρώντες τῶνδε τὰπιτίμια  
 μέμνησθ' Ἀθηνῶν Ἑλλάδος τε, μηδέ τις  
 ὑπερφρονήσας τὸν παρόντα δαίμονα 825  
 ἄλλων ἐρασθεὶς ὄλβον ἐκχέη μέγαν.  
 Ζεὺς τοι κολαστὴς τῶν ὑπερκόμπων ἄγαν  
 φρονημάτων ἔπεστιν, εὐθυνος βαρύς.

806 φίλον recc.: φίλος M 807 ὕψιστε παμμένει (α supra τε  
 scr. m) M 811 θ' recc.: om. M alii 815 κρηνὶς ἀπέσβηκ'  
 Housman: κρηνὶς ὑπεστιν codd. (possis et κρήνη κατέσβηκ' legere)  
 ἐκπιδύεται Schütz: ἐκπαιδεύεται codd. 816 αἵματος σταγῆς (in recc.  
 duobus adscript.) Brunck: αἵματος φαγῆς codd. 817 Πλαταιῶν  
 Δωρίδος recc.: πλατέων δωριάδος M 819 σημανοῦσιν recc.: σημαί-  
 νοῦσιν M

πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐκείνον, σῶφρονεῖν κεχρημένον,  
πινύσκει' εὐλόγοισι νουθετήμασιν, 830

λῆξαι θεοβλαβούνθ' ὑπερκόμπῳ θράσει.  
σὺ δ', ὦ γεραιὰ μήτερ ἢ Ξέρξου φίλη,  
ἐλθοῦς' ἐς οἶκους κόσμον ὅστις εὐπρεπὴς  
λαβοῦς' ὑπαντίαζε παιδί. παντὶ γὰρ  
κακῶν ὑπ' ἄλγους λακίδες ἀμφὶ σώματι 835  
στημορραγοῦσι ποικίλων ἐσθημάτων.

ἀλλ' αὐτὸν εὐφρόνως σὺ πρᾶνον λόγοις·  
μόνης γάρ, οἶδα, σοῦ κλύων ἀνέξεται.  
ἐγὼ δ' ἄπειμι γῆς ὑπὸ ζόφον κάτω.  
ὕμεῖς δέ, πρέσβεις, χαίρετ', ἐν κακοῖς ὅμως . 840

ψυχὴν διδόντες ἡδονῇ καθ' ἡμέραν,  
ὥς τοῖς θανούσι πλούτος οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ.

Χο. ἦ πολλὰ καὶ παρόντα καὶ μέλλοντ' ἔτι  
ἤλγησ' ἀκούσας βαρβάροισι πῆματα.

Ατ. ὦ δαῖμον, ὥς με πόλλ' ἐσέρχεται κακῶν 845  
ἄλγη, μάλιστα δ' ἦδε συμφορὰ δάκνει,  
ἀτιμίαν γε παιδὸς ἀμφὶ σώματι  
ἐσθημάτων κλύουσαν, ἣ νιν ἀμπέχει.  
ἀλλ' εἶμι, καὶ λαβοῦσα κόσμον ἐκ δόμων  
ὑπαντιάζειν παιδί μου πειράσομαι. 850  
οὐ γὰρ τὰ φίλτατ' ἐν κακοῖς προδώσομεν.

Χο. ὦ πόποι ἦ μεγάλας ἀγαθὰς τε πο- [στρ. α.  
λισσονόμου βιοτᾶς ἐπεκύρσαμεν,  
εὖθ' ὁ γηραιὸς  
πανταρκῆς ἀκάκας 855  
ἄμαχος βασιλεὺς  
ἰσόθεος Δαρεῖος ἄρχε χώρας.

829 κεχρημένον e schol. rec. Schütz : κεχρημένοι codd. 834 παντὶ  
Canter : πάντα codd. 841 ψυχὴν . . . ἡδονῇ Pauw : ψυχῇ . . .  
ἡδονὴν codd. 845 εἰσέρχεται codd. κακῶν Schütz : κακὰ codd.  
850 παιδί μου Burges : ἐμῷ παιδί M : παῖδ' ἐμῷ recc. 854 γεραιὸς M V

πρῶτα μὲν εὐδοκίμους στρατιᾶς ἀπε- [ἀντ. α.  
φαινόμεθ', ἥδ' ἐ πολίσματα πύργωα  
πάντ' ἐπέρθομεν. 860

νόστοι δ' ἐκ πολέμων  
ἀπόνους ἀπαθείς  
<ἀνέρας> εὖ πράσσοντας ἄγον οἴκους.

ὅσας δ' εἶλε πόλεις πόρον [στρ. β.  
οὐ διαβὰς Ἄλνυος ποταμοῖο, 865

οὐδ' ἀφ' ἐστίας συθείς,  
οἶαι Στρυμονίου πελά-  
γους Ἀχελώϊδες εἰσὶ πάροιχοι  
Θρηκίων ἐπαύλων, 870

λίμνας τ' ἔκτοθεν αἰ κατὰ [ἀντ. β.  
χέρσον ἐληλαμέναι πέρι πύργον  
τοῦδ' ἄνακτος αἶον,  
Ἑλλας τ' ἀμφὶ πόρον πλατὺν 875  
εὐχόμεναι, μυχία τε Προποντίς,  
καὶ στόμωμα Πόντου

νῆας θ' αἰ κατὰ πρῶν [στρ. γ.  
ἄλιον περὶ κλυστοί 880  
τᾷδε γὰρ προσήμεναι  
οἶα Λέσβος ἐλαι-  
όφυτός τε Σάμος, Χίος,  
ἥδ' Πάρος, Νάξος, Μύκο-  
νος, Τήνῳ τε συνάπτουσ' 885  
Ἄνδρος ἀγχιγείτῳ,

858 εὐδοκίμους στρατιᾶς Wellauer: εὐδοκίμου στρατιᾶς codd.  
858-9 ἀπεφαινόμεθ' recc.: ἀποφαινόμεθ' M 859 πολίσματα  
Keiper: νομίματα M 860 ἐπέρθομεν Pallis: ἐπέ.θνον (ν eraso) M  
863 ἀνέρας add. Wecklein οἴκους Porson: ἐς οἴκους codd.  
865-6 ποταμοῖο | οὐδ' Burney: ποταμοῦ δ' M 866 συθείς recc.:  
συνθείς M 870 θρηκίων M V 875 τ' recc.: om. M 882 οἶα  
V: οἶα M cett. 886 ἀνδρῶν (δσ supra ὡν scr. m) M

καὶ τὰς ἀγχιάλους [ἀντ. γ.  
 ἐκράτυνε μεσάκτους,  
 Λῆμνον, Ἰκάρου θ' ἔδος, 890  
 καὶ Ῥόδον ἠδὲ Κνίδον  
 Κυπρίας τε πόλεις, Πάφον,  
 ἠδὲ Σόλους, Σαλαμῖνά τε,  
 τὰς νῦν ματρόπολιν τῶνδ'  
 αἰτία στεναγμῶν. 896

καὶ τὰς εὐκτεάνους κατὰ [ἐπωδός.  
 κλήρον Ἰαόνιον πολυάνδρους  
 Ἑλλάνων ἐκράτει σφετέραις φρεσίν. 900  
 ἀκάματον δὲ παρῆν σθένος  
 ἀνδρῶν τευχιστήρων  
 παμμίκτων τ' ἐπικούρων.  
 νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀμφιλόγως  
 θεότρεπτα τάδ' αὖ 905  
 φέρομεν πολέμοισι  
 δμαθέντες μέγας  
 πλαγαῖσι ποντῆαίσι.

## ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἰώ,  
 δύστηνος ἐγὼ στυγεράς μοίρας  
 τῆσδε κυρήσας ἀτεκμαρτοτάτης, 910  
 ὥς ὠμοφρόνως δαίμων ἐνέβη  
 Περσῶν γενεᾷ· τί πάθω τλήμων;  
 λέλνται γὰρ ἐμοὶ γυνὴν ῥώμη  
 τήνδ' ἡλικίαν ἐσιδόντ' ἀστῶν.  
 εἴθ' ὄφελεν, Ζεῦ, καὶ μετ' ἀνδρῶν 915

889 μεσάκτους recs. : μεσάγκτους M 894 τὰς . . . ματρόπολιν  
 recs. : τὰς . . . ματροπόλει M 896 στεναγμῶν Hermann : στενα-  
 γμάτων codd. 897 εὐκταϊάνους M 899 Ἰαόνιον Hermann :  
 ἰόνιον codd. 900 ἐκράτει Hermann : ἐκράτυνε codd. (-γεν M)  
 905 θεότρεπτα recs. : θεόπρεπτα M

τῶν οἰχομένων

θανάτου κατὰ μοῖρα καλύψαι.

Χο. ὅτοτοῖ, βασιλεῦ, στρατιᾶς ἀγαθῆς  
καὶ περσονόμου τιμῆς μεγάλης,  
κόσμου τ' ἀνδρῶν,  
οὓς νῦν δαίμων ἐπέκειρεν.

920

γὰ δ' αἰάζει τὰν ἐγγαίαν  
ἦβαν Ξέρξα κταμέναν Ἰδίου  
σάκτορι Περσᾶν· ἀδοβάται γὰρ  
πολλοὶ φῶτες, χώρας ἄνθος,  
τοξοδάμαντες, πάνυ ταρφύς τις  
μυριάς ἀνδρῶν, ἐξέφθινται.  
αἰαῖ αἰαῖ κενῶς ἀλκᾶς.  
Ἄσσία δὲ χθών, βασιλεῦ γαίης,  
αἰνῶς αἰνῶς  
ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται.

[προφδός.

925

930

Ξε. ὄδ' ἐγών, οἰοῖ, αἰακτὸς  
μέλεος γέννα γὰρ τε πατρώα  
κακὸν ἄρ' ἐγενόμαν.

[στρ. α.

Χο. πρόσφθογγόν σοι νόστου τὰν  
κακοφάτιδα βοάν,  
κακομέλετον ἰὰν  
Μαριανδυνοῦ θρηνητῆρος  
πέμψω πέμψω,  
πολύδακρυν ἰαχάν.

935

940

918 ὅτοτοῖ Turnebus: ὅτοτοτοῖ M 920 om. M, in margine add. m  
924 σάκτορ M, ι add. m ἀδοβάται Hermann: ἀγδαβάται M V  
926 ταρφύς τις Franz: γὰρ φύστις codd. et scholl. 928 choro  
continuat Hermann: Xerxi tribuunt codd. 933 πατρώα Heath:  
πατρία codd. 935 πρόσφθογγόν recc.: προφθόγγου M

Ξε. ἔστ' αἰανῇ [καὶ] πάνδυρτον  
 δύσθροον αὐδάν. δαίμων γὰρ ὅδ' αὖ  
 μετάτροπος ἐπ' ἐμοί.

[ἀντ. α.]

Χο. ἦσω τοι τὰν πάνδυρτον,  
 λαοπαθέα σέβων  
 ἀλίτυπά τε βάρη,  
 πόλεως γέννας πευθητηῆρος.  
 <κλάγξω> κλάγξω  
 δὲ γόον ἀρίδακρυν.

945

Ξε. Ἰάνων γὰρ ἀπηύρα,  
 Ἰάνων ναύφαρκτος  
 Ἄρης ἐτεραλκῆς  
 νυχίαν πλάκα κερσάμενος  
 δυσδαίμονά τ' ἀκτάν.

[στρ. β.]

951

Χο. οἰοιοῖ βόα καὶ πάντ' ἐκπεύθου.—  
 ποῦ δὲ φίλων ἄλλος ὄχλος,  
 ποῦ δέ σοι παραστάται,  
 οἷος ἦν Φαρανδάκης,  
 Σούσας, Πελάγων, [καὶ] Δοτάμας, ἡδ' Ἀγ-  
 δαβάτας, Ψάμμις, Σουσιस्कάνης τ'  
 Ἀγβάτανα λιπών;

955

960

Ξε. ὀλοοὺς ἀπέλειπον  
 Τυρίας ἐκ ναδός

[ἀντ. β.]

941 καὶ seclisut G. C. W. Schneider πάνδυρτον Blomfield : πανό-  
 δυρτον codd. 944 τὰν anon. : καὶ codd. πάνδυρτον Blomfield :  
 πανόδυρτον codd. 945 λαοπαθέα Wecklein, σέβων Elmsley : λαο-  
 παθῇ τε σεβίζων M recc. plerique 948 κλάγξω add. Hermann  
 949 δὲ Blaydes : δ' αὖ codd. 950 Xerxi tribuit Lachmann : nulla  
 nota personae in codd. 953 νυχίαν] μυχίαν Pauw (v. 876)  
 955 ἐκπεύθου recc. : ἐκπεύθοι M [hunc v. Xerxi dant codd. : sed  
 chori est inter se hortantis : reliquis Xerxes interrogatur] 959 καὶ  
 seclisut Robortello 959-60 ἀγδαβάτας recc. : ἀγαβάτας M

ἔρροντας ἐπ' ἀκταῖς  
Σαλαμινιάσι στυφελοῦ  
θείνοντας ἐπ' ἀκτᾶς.

965

Χο. οἰοιοῖ, <βόα>· ποῦ σοι Φαρνοῦχος  
'Αριόμαρδός τ' ἀγαθός,  
ποῦ δὲ Σευάλκης ἀναξ,  
ἡ Λίλαιος εὐπάτωρ,  
Μέμφις, Θάρυβις, καὶ Μασίστρας,  
'Αρτεμβάρης τ' ἡδ' Ὑσταίχμας;  
τάδε σ' ἐπανερόμαν.

970

Ξε. ἰὼ ἰώ μοι,  
τὰς ὠγυγίους κατιδόντες  
στυγνὰς 'Αθάνας πάντες ἐνὶ πιτύλῳ,  
ἐῖ ἑή, τλάμονες ἀσπαίρουσι χέρσῳ.

[στρ. γ.

975

Χο. ἡ καὶ τὸν Περσᾶν αὐτοῦ  
τὸν σὸν πιστὸν πάντ' ὀφθαλμὸν  
μυρία μυρία πεμπαστὰν  
Βατανώχου παῖδ' Ἄλπιστον

980

τοῦ Σησάμα τοῦ Μεγαβάτα,  
Πάρθον τε μέγαν τ' Οἰβάρην  
ἔλιπες ἔλιπες;  
ὦ ὦ <ὦ> δάων.  
Πέρσαις ἀγανοῖς κακὰ πρόκακα λέγεις.

985

Ξε. ἰυγγά μοι δῆτ'  
ἀγαθῶν ἐτάρων ὑπορίνεις,

[ἀντ. γ.

964 ἐν ἄκραις Weil 965 Σαλαμινιάσι Hermann : σαλαμινῖσιν M  
967 βόα add. Hermann 968 'Αριόμαρδός τ' Brunck : κ' ἀριό-  
μαρδόστ' M 973 ἐπανερόμαν Meineke : ἐπ' ἀνέρομαι M 974 μοῖ  
μοῖ M 981 ἄλπιστον Wecklein post 981 deest v. 985 ὦ add.  
Hermann 989 ὑπορίνεις Hermann : ὑπομιμνήσκεις codd.



# ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

〈ἄλαστ'〉 ἄλαστα στυνγὰ πρόκακα λέγων. 990  
βοᾷ βοᾷ <μοι> μελέων ἔντοσθεν ἦτορ.

Χο. καὶ μὴν ἄλλους γε ποθοῦμεν,  
Μάρδων ἀνδρῶν μυριοταγὸν  
Ξάνθῳ ἄρειόν τ' Ἀγχάρην,  
Δίαιξίν τ' ἦδ' Ἀρσάκην 995  
ἱπιάνακτας,  
Κηγδαδάταν καὶ Λυθίμναν  
Τόλμον τ' αἰχμᾶς ἀκόρεστον.  
ἔταφον ἔταφον,  
οὐκ ἀμφὶ σκηναῖς 1000  
τροχηλάτοισιν ὅπιθεν ἐπομένους.

Ξε. βεβᾶσι γὰρ τοίπερ ἀγρέται στρατοῦ. [στρ. δ.

Χο. βεβᾶσιν, οἶ, νώνυμοι.

Ξε. ἰὴ ἰή, ἰὼ ἰώ.

Χο. ἰὼ ἰώ, δαίμονες, 1005  
ἔθεσθ' ἄελπτον κακὸν  
διαπρέπον, οἶον δέδορκεν Ἄτα.

Ξε. πεπλήγμεθ' οἷα δι' αἰῶνος τύχα· [ἀντ. δ.

Χο. πεπλήγμεθ'· εὖδηλα γάρ·

Ξε. νέε νέε δὺά δὺά· 1010

Χο. Ἰαόνων ναυβατᾶν

990 ἄλαστ' add. Hermann 991 μοι add. Dindorf ἔντοσθεν Blom-  
field: ἔνδοθεν codd. 992 ἄλλους Prie: ἄλλο codd. 993 μυριοταγὸν  
Dindorf: μυριόταρχον (ν inter ó et τ postea insertum) M 994 Ξάνθῳ  
Hermann: ξάνθην codd. 998 τ' recc.: om. M 999-1001 hos  
vv. choro continuavit Passow: Xerxi dant codd. 1001 ὅπιθεν  
Bothe, ἐπομένους Hartung: ὕπισθεν δ' ἐπόμενοι codd. 1002 τοίπερ  
Passow, ἀγρέται Toup: οἶπερ ἀγρόται codd. 1003 νώνυμοι recc.:  
νώνυμοι M hunc v. choro dat Passow: Xerxi continuant codd.  
1004 Xerxi dat Hermann: choro codd. 1006 ἔθεσθ' G. C. W.  
Schneider: ἔθετ' codd. 1010 Xerxi tribuit Hermann: choro  
codd. 1011 Ἰαόνων recc.: ἰάνων M ναυβατᾶν Robortello:  
ναυβάτων m

# ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ

κύρσαντες οὐκ εὐτυχῶς.

δυσπόλεμον δὴ γένος τὸ Περσᾶν.

Ξε. πῶς δ' οὐ; στρατὸν μὲν τοσοῦ- [στρ. ε.  
τον τάλας πέπληγμαι. 1015

Χο. τί δ' οὐκ ὄλωλεν, μέγ' ἄλαστε, Περσᾶν;

Ξε. ὁρᾷς τὸ λοιπὸν τόδε τᾶς ἐμᾶς στολᾶς;

Χο. ὁρῶ ὁρῶ.

Ξε. τόνδε τ' οἰστοδέγμονα— 1020

Χο. τί τόδε λέγεις σεσσωσμένον;

Ξε. θησαυρὸν βελέεσσιν.

Χο. βαιά γ' ὥς ἀπὸ πολλῶν.

Ξε. ἐσπανίσμεθ' ἄρωγων.

Χο. Ἰάνων λαὸς οὐ φυγαλίσμας. 1025

Ξε. ἀγανόρειος· κατεί- [ἀντ. ε.  
δον δὲ πῆμ' ἄελπτον.

Χο. τραπέντα ναύφρακτον ἐρεῖς ὄμιλον;

Ξε. πέπλον δ' ἐπέρρηξ' ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ κακοῦ. 1030

Χο. παπαῖ παπαῖ.

Ξε. καὶ πλέον ἢ παπαῖ μὲν οὖν.

Χο. δίδυμα γάρ ἐστι καὶ τριπλᾶ.

Ξε. λυπρά, χάρματα δ' ἐχθροῖς.

Χο. καὶ σθένος γ' ἐκολούσθη— 1035

Ξε. γυμνός εἰμι προπομπῶν.

Χο. φίλων ἄταισι ποντίαισιν.

Ξε. δίαινε δίαινε πῆμα· πρὸς δόμους δ' ἴθι. [στρ. ζ.

Χο. διαίνομαι γοεδνὸς ὦν. 1047 1039

Ξε. βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι. 1040

1016 μέγ' ἄλαστε Wecklein : μεγάλατε M 1020 τόνδε Porson : τὰν  
δέ MG 1022 βελέεσσιν Hermann : βέλεσσιν M 1025 Ἰάνων  
Passow : ἰαόνων codd. 1035 ἐκολούσθη] ἐκολούθη recc. 1039 hunc  
v. quem post 1046 habent codd. huc, qui hic fuerat, illuc transtulit  
Butler : ordo codicum minoribus numeris indicatur γοεδνὸς recc. :  
γοεδνὸς M 1040, 1048, 1050, 1066 νυν Pauw : νῦν codd.

Χο. δόσιν κακὰν κακῶν κακοῖς.

Ξε. ἔνζε μέλος ὁμοῦ τιθείς.

Χο. ὀτοτοτοτοῖ.

βαρεῖά γ' ἄδε συμφορά.

οἱ μάλα καὶ τόδ' ἀλγῶ.

1045

Ξε. ἔρεσσ' ἔρεσσε καὶ στέναζ' ἐμὴν χάριν.

[ἀντ. ζ.

Χο. αἰαῖ αἰαῖ, δῦα δῦα.

1039 1047

Ξε. βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι.

Χο. μέλειν πάρεστι, δέσποτα.

Ξε. ἐπορθίαζέ νυν γόοις.

1050

Χο. ὀτοτοτοτοῖ.

μέλαινα δ' ἀμμεμίζεται,

οὔ, στονόεσσα πλαγά.

Ξε. καὶ στέρν' ἄρασσε καὶ βόα τὸ Μῦσιον.

[στρ. η.

Χο. ἄνι' ἄνια.

1055

Ξε. καὶ μοι γενείου πέρθε λευκὴρὴν τρίχα.

Χο. ἄπριγδ' ἄπριγδα μάλα γοεδνά.

Ξε. αὐτεὶ δ' ὀξύ.

Χο. καὶ τὰδ' ἔρξω.

Ξε. πέπλον δ' ἔρεικε κολπίαν ἀκμῇ χερῶν.

[ἀντ. η.

Χο. ἄνι' ἄνια.

1061

Ξε. καὶ ψάλλ' ἔθειραν καὶ κατοίκτισαι στρατόν.

Χο. ἄπριγδ' ἄπριγδα μάλα γοεδνά.

Ξε. διαίνου δ' ὅσσε.

Χο. τέγγομαί τοι.

1065

Ξε. βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι.

[ἐπωδός.

Χο. οἰοῖ οἰοῖ.

1052 ἀμμεμίζεται Dindorf: αὐ μεμίζεται (αὐ ex ἄμ factum) M  
1053 οἱ Lachmann: μοι codd. 1054 καὶ βόα (ex Eustathio ad  
Dionys. 791) Hermann: καπιβόα codd. 1056 πέρθε Robortello:  
ὑπερθε codd. 1060 ἔρεικε recc.: ἔρειδε M

Ξε. αἰακτὸς ἐς δόμους κίε.

Χο. ἰὼ ἰώ, Περσὶς αἶα δύσβατος.

Ξε. ἰωὰ δὴ κατ' ἄστυ.

1070

Χο. ἰωὰ δῆτα, ναὶ ναί.

Ξε. γοᾶσθ' ἀβροβάται.

Χο. ἰὼ ἰώ, Περσὶς αἶα δύσβατος.

Ξε. ἰὴ ἰὴ τρισκάλμοισιν,

ἰὴ ἰή, βάρισιν ὀλόμενοι.

1075

Χο. πέμψω τοῖ σε δυσθρόοις γόοις.

1074, 1075 ἰὴ ἰὴ VP: η ἡ η ἡ M

post 1076 αἰσχύλου πέρσαι M

## NOTES

*The scene is at Susa near the palace of Xerxes. The tomb of Darcios is visible. The stage is empty. Enter the Chorus by the passage on the right into the orchestra, singing and marching to the anapaestic measure.*

[Lines 1-154. PARODOS: (Part 1) 1-64. 'We are the guardians, called Faithful, chosen by Xerxes to have charge of the land. Our hearts are anxious for king and army: the whole strength of the land is gone, and no tidings! They went forth from Susiana and Media, horse, foot, and navy: princes, captains, archers, knights. Egypt sent her forces, the rulers of Memphis and Thebes, rowers from the Delta unnumbered. Lydians from mainland, chariots from Sardis, 3-horse or 4-horse cars: dwellers by Tmolus, and Mysians boast to enslave Hellas: Babylon sends a mingled mass of men, and sword-clad warriors from all Asia follow. 'Tis the flower of Persians are gone: for whom all Asia sighs with longing, and wives and mothers pass anxious weary days, in fear.]

1. τάδε, for οἶδε, 'we here,' by the not uncommon idiom of the neuter plural used as 'abstract collective' for persons. So ἀστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ βέλτατα, Eum. 487 (though it is easier with superlative, as we say 'the pick of'). So πιστὰ πιστῶν, 687.

Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων, lit. 'of the Persians that went forth,' i.e. belonging to them, free use of partitive gen. We should say 'left when they went forth,' using a wholly different construction. The author of the argument says (on the authority of one Glaukos, a scholar of Rhegium) that Aeschylos imitated in this play the Phoinissai of Phrynichos, his predecessor in the art, and quotes the first line of that play:—τάδ' ἐστὶ Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι βεβηκότων. If this is accurate, Aeschylos has clearly copied the sense and phrasing.

2. πιστά, 'faithful.' The Persian king's councillors were called Πιστοί, Xen. Oec. 4. 6: and the name is again referred to inf. 528, 681.

3. 'The rich seats with wealth of gold' are the king's palace and treasury at Susa, as Herodotos tells (v. 49).

## PERSAE

4. κατὰ πρεσβείαν, 'for their worth,' lit. 'on the score of dignity,' πρεσβείαν being precedence in age or position, and here including *quality* as well. So πρεσβεύω is 'to be first' or 'to be best.'

8. βασιλείῳ is equivalent to βασιλέως, and so is easily coupled with στρατιάς.

9. πολυχρῦσον, the 'gilded host,' suggests the pride of the Chorus in their army, but also the contempt of the Greek poet for the empty splendour of the Persians. So there is no need to emend (πολυάνδρον, Teuffel; πολύχειρος, Weil).

10. ὀρσολοπείται: a word of uncertain origin, found in late Epic (Homeric Hymn to Hermes 308, in form ὀρσολοπεύω) and meaning 'to trouble,' 'to vex.'

13. νέον δ' ἄνδρα βαῦζει has given much difficulty, and been much emended. The best suggestion is Fritzsche's νυός, 'and the bride cries for her husband': but though this might do as one detail in a general description of discontent, it is far too abrupt and isolated to suit here. βαῦζειν is used Ag. 449, τὰ δὲ σιγά τις βαῦζει, 'thus do men mutter in secret': so here it is simplest to take it 'and they (the army, ἰσχυρὸς Ἀσίας) grumble against the youthful king.'

The misgivings are manifold: the whole force of the land is in jeopardy: they are disaffected towards Xerxes; we have no news.

But the suspicion of some corruption remains.

14. ἄγγελος, a runner, opp. τῷ ἱππεύς.

16. Susa, the winter residence of the Persian kings, on the river Choaspes in Susiana, N.W. of the Persian gulf: *Ekbatana*, here in the older form Agbatana, the summer residence, capital of Media, south of the Caspian. *Kissia* was the province of Susiana in which Susa was situated.

18. ἔβαν, Epic form of ἔβησαν, used by the Attic poets.

19. ναῶν, Ionic form for νεῶν. The Ionic forms are numerous in this play: and it has been suggested that Aeschylos deliberately used them as the dialect of the Ionic colonies in Asia, and so appropriate to Persians (W. Headlam).

20. πολέμου στίφος, 'close rank of war.'

21-2. Herod. gives us most of these names, or others very like them: Μεγάβαζος, 7. 97; Ὑστάσπης, 7. 64; Μασίστης, 7. 82; Ἀρταφέρνης, 7. 74; Ἀρτεμβάρης (inf. 29), 1. 114; Φαρανδάτης, 7. 79.

25. σοῦνται, hist. pres., 'sped forth': the verb is common in Epic (σύθη, ἔσσοντο, &c.), and the Attic poets often use it (σοῦσθε, Theb. 31; συμένη, Ag. 747; Eum. 1007, &c.).

26. τοξοδάμαντες, 'mighty bowmen' (lit. 'conquering with the bow'). This form, and another form τοξόδαμνος (86), the poet

## NOTES. LINES 4-47

uses only in this play ; which is natural, as the bow was the great weapon of the Easterns.

28. εὐτλήμονι δόξῃ, 'by the brave resolve': δόξα is used in a rather uncommon sense, but easily acceptable, since δόγμα and δοκεῖν are both regularly used of 'resolve': there is no need to change the reading. [Heimsoeth ingeniously suggests πείσῃ, from Hesych. πείσῃ· πείσματι, adducing the scholiast on this line (who gives ἐνυποστάτω δοκήσει καὶ πείσματι), and quoting also Od. 20. 23, ἐν πείσῃ κραδίη μένε τετληνία, which certainly seems very like this phrase. But (1) the schol. δοκήσει points to δόξῃ being right; (2) all MSS. have δόξῃ; and (3) the note of Hesych. may be intended for the Odyssey line.]

29. ἵππιοχάρμης, Epic word (Il. 24. 257), 'chariot-fighter': here prob. 'horse-fighter,' see 105.

Ἄρτεμβάρης occurs below (302) with the third syllable short -βάρ-.

32. The 'paroemiac,' or terminal line of the anapaestic metre, rarely ends with a spondee before the last long syllable. But in Aesch. it does so occasionally, see inf. 152.

34. The change to the nominative in the list of names (from ἄλλους, line 33) is quite natural, 'there was' or 'went' being easily supplied.

36. Μεμφίδος, a great Egyptian city at the apex of the Delta of the Nile, centre of the Egyptian commerce, and practically capital of the country. Besides its palaces, it had many temples, such as those of Apis, Serapis, and Phtha (hence called *ierâs*). Fourteen years after this play (458) it was taken by the Athenians in the ill-fated expedition of that year.

37. ὠγυγίους: word of unknown origin (scholiasts' tales of Ogyges an old Greek king are inventions) used for 'ancient' by the poets, e.g. infra, 975; Eum. 1036; Theb. 321.

38. ἐφέπων, 'ruling,' lit. 'managing,' common Epic word.

39. ἐλειοβάται, 'rangers of the mere' (ἐλος, 'swamp'), i.e. the inhabitants of the marshy delta, called ἐλαιοι by Thuc. (1. 110), who says they were the 'best fighters of the Egyptians.'

42. 'Who control all the mainland-race,' i.e. those settled on the coast of Asia Minor: Sardis, the Persian western capital (47), is in Lydia, as were Smyrna and Ephesos: Lydia is mentioned as the chief district of these coasts.

44. δίοποι, 'ruling,' 'in charge,' under the Great King. The Greeks were familiar with the western satraps of the Persian empire.

45. ἐπόχους, 'riders' whether on horses or cars, here the latter. Below, 54, metaphorically of sailors.

47. δίρρυμα, τρίρρυμα, lit. 'with two poles,' 'with three poles':



and as the pole was required between the horses, it means 'with three, with four horses abreast.'

τέλη is used from Homer downwards (e. g. κατὰ στρατὸν ἐν τελέεσσι, Il. 18. 398), for 'troops,' 'squadrons,' 'companies' of soldiers (and even of *ships*, τέλη τῶν νεῶν, Thuc. 1. 48). So here the whole phrase means 'ranks of three-horse and four-horse cars, a terrible sight.'

49-52. M reads στεῦνται . . . πέλαται; but the ν is dotted (i. e. rejected as wrong by the corrector), and schol. remarks on the *singular* στεῦται, which must therefore be the true reading. Some keep πέλαται, sing. verb and plural noun, a use occasionally found, and known as *schema Pindaricum*: but it is far more likely that the original πελάτης was changed to suit στεῦνται. πελάτης, 'the neighbour,' is used, quite naturally, in a collective sense.

στεῦται is a Homeric word, to 'vow' or 'threaten.' The meaning therefore is 'And he who dwells by holy Tmolos' (a mt. in Lydia sacred to Dionysos) 'vows to cast upon Hellas the yoke of slavery'; Mardon and Tharybis are the leaders of these Lydians, and the Mysians their neighbours to the north.

It is characteristic of Aesch. to revel in geographical detail: in Prometheus the wanderings of Io in north and east and south are given with picturesque abundance; and in the lost 'Prometheus Unbound' there is evidence that there was a similarly lavish description of Herakles' wanderings in the west. The fifth century (like the Elizabethan times) was an age of discovery of far lands, inspiring a new and enthusiastic interest.

51. λόγχης ἄκμονες, 'anvils of the spear,' fine phrase for a soldier who does not flinch when struck.

54. σύρδην, lit. 'sweeping along' (adv. from σύρω), i. e. 'in masses,' 'in crowds,' slightly contemptuous word, of vast miscellaneous hosts.

55. τοξουλκῷ λήματι πιστούς, lit. 'trusting the archer's spirit,' i. e. 'keen fighters with the bow.'

56. μάχαιρα is a dagger or short sword, common weapon in the east: the Thracians are called μαχαιροφόροι (Thuc. 7. 27). These are the bodyguard of the king, the 10,000 (Herod. 7. 55).

58. δειναῖς ὑπὸ πομπαῖς, 'under the dread commands' of the king.

59-60. τοιόνδ' ἄνθος Περσίδος αἶας οἵχεται ἀνδρῶν: the double gen. after ἄνθος is quite natural in Greek, though the nouns have a slightly different relation to ἄνθος: 'the flower of the land, consisting of men' is the exact meaning. We should paraphrase: 'So fair a flower of Persian land are the warriors that are gone.'

## NOTES. LINES 49-73

61. οὗς περί: the acc. with περί usually of *behaviour*, e.g. ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὴν πόλιν: verbs of speaking, thinking, feeling (doubt, care, fear, grief, &c.) *about* anything usually take περί with *genitive*. But the two uses lie near together, and overlap.

62. στένεται, mid. for commoner act. στένω. This is a point in which the poets vary the normal use frequently. So στένομαι σε, πάτερ, Bacch. 1371; (δακρύω) χαίρειν καὶ δακρύνεσθαι, Theb. 815; (τρομέω) τρομέονται, 64.

63-4. 'Tremble at the lengthening time, counting the days,' a vivid description of the prolonged and weary waiting and anxiety. For the middle τρομέονται see 62: the use is Homeric, τρομέοντο δέ οἱ φρένες ἔντος, Il. 10. 10. Notice the Epic or Ionic uncontracted form. See 542.

65-139. *The Chorus cease the anapaestic song, and take their usual places for the lyric stanzas, sung alternately by the two halves of the whole body.*

[65-154. PARODOS, Part 2. The great host has passed Hellespont, and advances by land and sea afar: riding a Syrian car the king goes to war. None can resist: yet mortals are deluded by the gods to ruin: Persians have learned sieges, cavalry charges, to trust the sea in frail ships: my heart is fearful lest we hear of disaster: for all our people, horse and foot, are gone, passing the bridged strait: the wives remain mourning for absent lords. Let us inquire how the king is faring: whether bow or spear wins. Here is the queen: let us address her.]

68. λινωδέσμφ σχεδίᾳ, 'rope-bound float-bridge,' referring of course to the great boat-bridge of Xerxes over the Hellespont. σχεδία is usually 'a float' or 'raft': and Aeschylus is clearly echoing the Homeric phrase of Odysseus' raft (Od. 5. 33), ἐπὶ σχεδῆς πολυδέσμου, 'well-bound raft,' made of planks tightly bound.

70. The 'passage of Helle' is the Hellespont. Helle, daughter of Athamas, escaped with her mother Nephele and brother Phrixos from a plot to sacrifice the latter, by the aid of the ram with the golden fleece, who bore them off through the air. But in crossing above the straits, Helle fell into the sea, which afterward bore her name.

71-2. 'Casting about the sea's neck as a yoke the close-riveted pathway'; πολύγομφον is lit. 'many-pegged.' The bridge of boats is often called 'a yoke': and the whole phrase is a good example of the bold and figurative diction of the poet. See 745.

73. θούριος, 'warlike': the regular Homeric epithet of Ares, and the fighting heroes: it comes from the stem θι- (describing quick movement) and means 'rushing,' 'swift,' 'furious.'

## PERSAE

74-5. ποιμανόριον, 'flock' [only here found], as the king in Homer is regularly 'shepherd of the people.' So ποιμάνωρ, 241 ; ναῶν ποιμένες, Supp. 767.

θεῖον : common in Epic of the heroes : so here of the vast host.

76. πεζονόμον, lit. 'land-grazing,' to continue boldly the metaphor of ποιμανόριον. We might translate 'ranging over land and sea.' [MSS. give πεζονόμοις : but the order clearly points to the phrase applying to the *troops*, not the *leaders* : hence I take the correction πεζονόμον τ'.]

79. στυφελούς, 'stern,' 'rough' : used below 965 of a hard rocky shore.

ἐφέτης, 'commander' : cf. ἐφετμή, 'orders' ; ἐφίημι, 'to charge.' The word was used at Athens for an old court of judges.

80. 'Godlike man of the race begotten of gold' : for the Persian kings traced their line to Perseus, son of Danae, whom Zeus visited in her prison in the form of a shower of gold. ἰσόθεος φῶς, common Epic phrase of heroes and kings.

81. κυανοῦν, prop. 'dark blue,' used vaguely for 'dark' (as hair, the snake, the brows of Zeus, thundercloud, &c., all in Homer). Tr. 'and gazing with the dark glance of the fell serpent.' δέργμα of course cognate. The snake's eye was supposed to be deadly in its effect.

83. πολύχειρ, of the land force : χεῖρ is used commonly for a force of soldiers in Herod., χεῖρ μεγάλη, πολλῇ χερὶ, &c. So Thuc. 3. 96 : and Aesch. οὐ σμικρὰ χερὶ, Suppl. 958.

'With many a troop, and many a ship.'

84. διώκων, 'speeding' : so Theb. 371, διώκων πομπίμους χνόας ποδῶν. The phrase is a clear reference to the Delphic oracle given to the Athenians in 480. This fearful prophecy contained the words—'Neither head is safe, nor body, nor feet below, nor hands, nor aught else is left, but all are lost—brought to the ground by fire, and *swift Ares speeding his Syrian car*' (Συριγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων), Herod. 7. 140. This play was acted only eight years later than Salamis, and every detail must have been familiar to the whole vast audience. Aesch. skilfully puts the words as a boast into the mouths of the Persians.

85-6. 'Brings War of the bowmen against the famed spear-men.' This praise of the Greek soldiers is natural in the Greek poet, though it is hardly suitable in the mouth of the proud Persians : the same contrast of arms below 147-9, 239-40.

87-90. 'And there is no man skilled [lit. 'tested,' 'approved'] to withstand the mighty stream of men, and with strong barriers keep out the sea's invincible surge.' ὑποστάς is best so taken (with schol. who explains it as ἀντιστάς), cf. Xen. Anab. 3. 2. 11, ὑποστήναι αὐτοῖς τολμήσαντες. The metaphor grows as he

proceeds: a stream of men . . . barriers . . . the invincible sea. [Others much less naturally understand it to mean 'stand *with* great stream, &c.': but the *ῥεύμα* and *ἄμαχον κῦμα* must be the *same* thing, i. e. the Persian host.]

91. *ἀπρόσοιστος*, explained by schol. *ἀκαταμάχτος*, 'irresistible': *προσφέρεισθαι* is commonly used for 'to deal with,' 'to meet,' so the adj. is used by a sort of irony, 'hard to deal with,' being a mild expression for 'irresistible.'

[After this line Rossbach, Westphal, and others place the two stanzas 101-14, on the ground that they continue the proud tone of the earlier verses, and so should precede the lines 93-100 which express misgiving. But the change, though worth considering, is probably needless, see notes on 101 sqq.]

93. 'The crafty deceit of the god' is the delusion whereby gods lure the proud to their ruin,—a common Greek idea, here dramatically preparing the way for the catastrophe.

95-6. 'Who is he that lightly can leap thus high with nimble foot?' phrase elaborated for 'who can overleap and escape' the god's delusion? *πήδημα τόδ' . . . ἀνάσσω*, lit. 'speeding upward this leap' (cognate acc.): a necessary emendation for *πηδήματος ἀνάσσω* of the MSS.: 'lord of a leap' is too grotesque.

97-8. *φιλόφρων*, lit. 'kind-hearted,' here describes the *seeming* kindness of Ate, which is really deceptive; 'For Ruin with a smile lures mortals astray, into her snares,' a picturesque imaginative phrase in the poet's manner.

[The MSS. give, after *φιλόφρων γάρ*, the words *σαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει*, the right sense, but no metre, and clearly a scholium which has supplanted the poet's word. Seidler brilliantly conjectured *παρασαίνει*, 'entices aside,' restoring the metre, exactly suiting the sense, and explaining the corruption, the word being thoroughly Aeschylean.] See Introduction, § 6.

101-2. 'For fate of old ordained from the gods, &c.' The connexion of thought is this:—

In spite of our overwhelming power (91) we must remember how all are liable to calamity, and how smiling Fate deludes men (93-100). For *once* (*τὸ παλαιόν*) we waged wars on land, and captured cities (101-7), but now we have learned to tempt the perils of the sea with boat-bridges (or perhaps ships) (108-11); a strong hint, though veiled, that the sea-warfare may be their ruin.

The whole play being the glorification of Salamis, this suggestion (which is only touched, not dwelt on) is significant. And there is no need to change the order of the stanzas (see note on 91).

103. *ἐπέσκηψε*, 'laid charge upon.'

## PERSAE

104. *πυργοδαίκτους*, 'destroying the ramparts,' i.e. breaching the walls and taking the fortress. The form in *-τος* (from verb-stems) is usually passive, but not necessarily so: and some words are used both ways. [So we have *ἀνδροδαίκτων*, Cho. 860 as here: so *μεμπτός*, blaming,' Soph. Tr. 446; *ὑποπτος*, 'suspecting,' Thuc. I. 90; *ῥυτός*, 'flowing'; *πανάλωτος*, 'destroying,' &c.]

105. *διέπω*, 'manage,' Epic word used with *πόλεμος*, *στρατός*, &c. So here 'direct the wars.'

*ἱπποχάρμης*, here adjectival, above (29) substantival, both quite natural: 'the tumult of the horsemen's fight.'

108. *εὐρύπορος* and *πολιή*, regular epithets of *θάλασσα* in Homer, e.g. Od. 12. 2 *θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο*; Il. 1. 359 *ἀνέδν πολιῆς ἁλός*. Note that the word here is Epic even in form, gen. with suffix *-οιο*.

111. *ἄλσος*, 'grove' or 'precinct,' in Homer always *sacred*, in connexion with some god or nymph: so in Herod. and Pindar. When Aeschylus uses it therefore of the *sea* (here and Supp. 868) the word is figurative partly, but keeps the notion of sanctity, 'the sea's holy plain.' [Compare Swinburne's beautiful phrase, 'The *sacred spaces of the sea*,' which may possibly be an echo of Aeschylus.] A similar phrase is the splendid expression 365, *τέμενος αἰθέρος*, 'the holy precinct of the air.'

112. *λεπτοδόμοις*, lit. 'fine-built,' i.e. 'slender': the cables are slender relatively, as against the stormy waves, though in themselves they may be stout ropes. The word itself suggests the fears of the speaker.

112-4. The commentators differ as to whether this refers to the Hellespontine *bridge*, or *ships*. The whole phrase, 'trusting slender ropes and devices for the passage of men,' is compatible with either. On the whole (with Paley, Schütz, and Hermann) I prefer to understand it of the *bridge*, for these reasons: (1) *πείσμα* is a *fastening* cable, essential to the safety of a boat-bridge, but not so important to a ship: (2) *μηχαναί* is far more naturally used of the *novel device* of a bridge of boats, than of a ship: (3) *λαοπόροις* suits far better an *army marching over*, than *sailors carried on board*. It is true, on the other hand, that *εὐρυπόροιο* suggests rather the *open sea*: but the strait was nearly a mile broad at the narrowest point (where the bridge was), and was quite wide enough for bad storms—indeed this bridge was actually wrecked by such a tempest. We may add that *ἄλσος* (properly an *enclosure*) more naturally suggests a strait than quite open water.

115. *ταῦτα*, adverbial or *appositional* use of the accus., especially common with pronouns (*ταῦτ' ἄρα, καὶ ταῦτα, τοῦτο*

μέν, ἀμφοτέρων, τᾶλλα, and the interrogatives τί, ὅ τι (why), &c. So 159, 165. Translate 'Therefore it is, that my heart is torn with fears.'

μελαγχίτων, 'black-robed,' imaginative word for 'gloomy': so σπλάγχνα κελαινοῦται, Cho. 413; κελαινόχρως καρδία, Supp. 785. All these phrases are echoes of the Homeric φρένες ἀμφιμέλαιnai, Il. 1. 103, &c.

117. Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος, 'in regard to,' after φόβω. Ordinarily the gen. after φόβος would be 'fear of': but the other is always a possible meaning of the gen. and is particularly common with verbs of emotion, as *care* (μέλει, κήδεσθαι, φυλάσσεσθαι, φροντίζω), *wonder, delight, sorrow*, &c. So below, 162, ἀδείμαντος ἐμαντῆς.

119. κένανδρον, predicate, 'is empty of men,' i. e. has lost its army.

121. ἀντίδουπον ᾄσεται, 'shall chant an answering strain': we have μὴ . . . πύθεται . . . ᾄσεται . . . πέση where the combination of future with two subjunctives is unusual; but both fut. and subj. are common after verbs of fearing, and quite normal grammatically. The combination of the two is found Ar. Eccl. 493 μὴ καὶ τις ἡμᾶς ὄψεται χημῶν ἴσως κατείπη; Plat. Alc. I, 148 B ὅπως μὴ λήσει . . . καὶ παλινωδῇ. ᾄσεται for MS. ἔσεται (poor sense and bad metre) is a certain correction. The common confusion of ε and αι has caused the error.

122. ὦα, τοῦτ' ἔπος, 'this word, alas!' the regular Greek order, Ag. 1334 'μηκέτ' ἐσέλθης' τὰδε φωνῶν; Cho. 314 'δράσαντι παθεῖν' τριγέρων μῦθος τὰδε φωνεῖ.

124. ὄμιλος, in loose but natural apposition to πόλισμ'.

125. 'And rending fall on the fine linen robes,' the common oriental sign of grief, familiar in the Old Testament. So Suppl. 120 ἐμπίτνω σὺν λακίδι λινοσινεῖ; Cho. 28 λινοφθύροι δ' ὑφασμάτων λακίδες.

127. πεδοστιβῆς, lit. 'earth-treading,' i. e. 'marching on foot,' here opposed to cavalry, cf. Suppl. 1000 περοῦντα καὶ πεδοστιβῆ, 'beasts of earth and fowls of the air.'

128. σμήνος, 'a swarm.' ἐκλέλοιπεν, absol. 'have gone.'

130-2. Strained and intricate phrasing, after the poet's manner; but the sense is clear: 'having passed the sea-cape of either land, yoked in union.' What they really passed was the bridge which yoked the headlands. The πρῶνα is certainly neither the straits (schol.) nor the bridge (Blomf.).

135. ἀβροπενθείς, 'tenderly mourning,' a certain correction of Paley's for MSS. ἀκροπενθείς: for schol. M. explains it ἀβρύνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ πενθεῖν, showing that he read ἀβροπενθείς: further in 541 we have the exactly similar word ἀβρόγοοι. See Introd. § 6.



## PERSAE

139. *λείπεται*, agreeing by a natural irregularity with *ἐκάστα* (the *nearest* nom.) instead of with *Περσίδες*.

*μονόζυξ*, a sort of pathetic oxymoron, lit. 'lone-yoked': there ought to be *two*, and only *one* is left. We must say simply 'alone.'

*The antiphonal song ends: the leader of the Chorus addresses them, and at his bidding they seat themselves: at line 150 they rise to greet the queen.*

140. *τόδ' ἐνεζόμενοι*: the poets use all verbs of *sitting* with acc., *σέλημα σεμνὸν ἡμένων*, Ag. 183; *ναῦν ἐφέζετο*, ib. 664; *καρδίαν προσήμενος*, ib. 834; *τόδ' ἔζετο*, Eum. 3. (This is even the case, as the instances show, when the verb is compounded with a prep. such as would usually require dative.) 'Taking seat before this ancient hall,' the king's palace: they are to be suppliants, for news of Xerxes. There is a similar suppliant gathering before a palace in Oidipous Tyrannos at the opening of the play: in that case however the Chorus is distinct from the suppliants. The palace is supposed to be near. See Introduction, § 4.

[It is disputed whether 140-54 is chanted by the leader or the whole Chorus: but *Πέρσαι*, line 140, and *πάντας*, 154, seem rather in favour of the former.]

143. *χρεία δὲ προσήκει*, 'for need has come.' Observe the older meaning of *προσῆκει*, usually meaning 'it befits.'

*δέ* in the Epic use, where we should say 'for.' It is not that *δέ* means 'for': but that the older Greek gives the *simple* connexion 'and,' leaving the *causal* connexion to be supplied, e. g. Il. 13. 163 *ἀσπίδα ταυρείην σχέθ' ἀπὸ ἔο, δέισε δὲ θυμῷ*, where we should say 'for he feared in his heart.' (The schol., innocent of any grammatical explanation, says correctly *ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ γάρ*.)

146. *τὸ πατρωνύμιον γένος ἡμέτερον*, a line which has caused some difficulty: but it is simplified if we recognize that *γένος ἡμέτερον* is predicate, *τὸ πατρ.* adverbial. 'Akin to us in respect of the father's name,' they say: and the sense is, 'the king is our kin, as the descendant of Perseus, whose name the Persians bear': in other words Perseus was the father (in one sense) of Xerxes, and (in a conventional sense) of the nation called after him. [For *γένος* in apposition to *βασιλεύς* compare *ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἔην θεῖον γένος, οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων* (Il. 6. 180), *δίων γένος ἰοχέαιρα*, Il. 9. 538.] The schol. Med. takes the passage in this way, explaining the line *κατὰ πατέρα συγγενὴς ἡμῖν*. So we say 'he is our kin.'

147-8. 'Whether the conquering bow-shot or the might of the sharp spear-head hath prevailed.' *ῥῦμα*, properly 'drawing,' then by easy transition 'shot': so in prose, *ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος*,



## NOTES. LINES 139-155

'a bowshot distant,' Xen. Anab. 3. 3. 15. δορικράνου λόγχης, lit. 'of the point heading the shaft.'

*Atossa the queen-mother enters the orchestra in a car, with attendants. The Chorus rise, and as she approaches prostrate themselves. She mounts the stage.*

150. 'A light like the eyes of the gods': the language used is appropriate to the servile Persians who treated the royal family as divine: it is still more explicit 157.

152. προσπίτνω, 'I do obeisance,' i. e. they fall on their knees and bow their heads to the ground. For metre, see 32. For the contempt of Greeks for these prostrations see Ag. 923, where the king forbids Klyt. to 'grovel and howl like a barbarian,' μηδὲ βαρβάρων δίκην χαμαιπετέες βόαμα προσχάνης ἐμοί. See Intr. § 6.

153. προσφθόγοις . . . μῦθοις, 'words of greeting.'

[155-531. FIRST EPEISODION. (The scene is unusually long; but as Atossa is on the stage the whole time, and it is not broken by any regular choric song, it is strictly one scene. There are different parts in it, as follows:—) *Part 1.* In answer to the Chorus' greeting she confesses anxiety. She has had an evil dream: she saw two women, a Persian and a Greek, and Xerxes yoked them to his car: the Greek one being violent upset the car, and Xerxes was thrown. She woke and sacrificed, then saw an omen: an eagle flying to the altar of Phoibos attacked and wounded by a hawk. The Chorus bid her sacrifice and pray: she then in short dialogue asks about Athens—the city, men, their wealth, armour, government: then the messenger is seen coming (155-248). *Part 2.* Messenger relates the disaster of Salamis, his story is broken by wails of the Chorus (249-89). *Part 3.* Atossa anxiously inquires about the slain: messenger says Xerxes lives, then gives a long list of the killed. In answer to a question about the fleets, he gives the numbers, then describes at length the battle of Salamis, ending with the slaughter of men from the beaten and damaged vessels, when they tried to land. Lastly he gives the fate of the fugitives. Atossa, seeing her ill vision come true, goes out to pray (290-531).]

155. The metre is tetrameter trochaic, the *oldest* measure employed in dialogue (Arist. Poet. 4 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο), afterwards supplanted by the iambic which was well established before Aeschylus. This is the only play of Aesch. (or Soph.) where it is used for dialogue *in the body of the drama*; though it survives in the exodos of Agam. and Oid. Tyrannos. Euripides in his later plays (Bacch., Phoin., Ion,

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Iph., Aul., &c.) revives it. The iambic was considered a graver and quieter metre. (Haigh. Tr. Dram. 371.)

158. δαίμων παλαιός, 'our former fortune.' The hint of disaster is almost too open here: it is too plainly the Greek poet, not the Persian guard, who speaks.

159-60. 'The gold-decked halls' and 'royal bride-chamber' are of course the palace.

ταῦτα δὴ: see 115, and inf. 165.

162. ἐμαντῆς . . . ἀδείμαντος, 'without fear for myself.' See 117.

163. 'Lest Wealth grown great spurn with his foot and overthrow, raising cloud of dust upon the ground, the Prosperity which Dareios raised by help Divine': the common Greek notion that excessive wealth or success brings ruin. The *danger of Prosperity* is strikingly given Ag. 1009 'Of gathered wealth if Fear casts out a part . . . the whole house doth not founder.' In Herod. the idea is constant: it is best seen in the story of Polykrates of Samos, who, invariably fortunate, was advised to propitiate the jealousy of the gods by throwing away his most precious possession. He cast a priceless ring into the sea; but when it was found by a fisherman in a fish, and returned, it was clear he was marked out for ruin (Herod. 3. 40-3). Still more appropriate to the Persae is the tale (6. 10) of Artabanos, uncle of Xerxes, who dissuades him from the expedition on the ground of this divine jealousy: 'the largest beasts, the highest houses, the tallest trees are struck with lightning: *for all that is eminent the god is wont to humble.*'

The phrasing (*Wealth overthrowing Prosperity*) is rather strange, and has been suspected: the ideas seem too nearly identical, and 755 occur so used. Heimsoeth suggested δαίμων for πλοῦτος, which has been adopted by Weil, Teuffel, Wecklein, &c. But as the idea of φθόνος is that *it is the Prosperity* which excites the jealousy, and so destroys the prosperity, the objection is not conclusive. And the change of term prevents the phrase from sounding harsh. For the form ἀντρίψῃ see note on 572.

165. MSS. read μέριμν' ἀφραστός 'care inexplicable' or 'inexpressible.' The sense might do (see below 166-7): but the line can hardly be right, since the usual break after the fourth foot, which is essential to the metre, is neglected. C. G. Haupt suggested μέριμνα φραστός which does not alter a letter. φραστός ἐστιν will mean 'is pondered,' 'is rooted in my heart,' and is adopted by Hermann, Wecklein, and Teuffel. The verbals in -τός are indifferently active or passive, and often the same word is both. See above, 104.

166-7. These two lines give the substance of her 'care' or

anxious reflection. The construction is the same (*μήτε* with inf.) in both, but the grammar is different: one is a *resolve*, the other a *belief*. The first is normal: the second would ordinarily be *οὐ*, but there are many instances to the contrary, e. g. *νομίσαντες μὴ ἂν ἱκανοὶ γενέσθαι* (Thuc. 6. 102), *δοκῶ σφε μὴδὲ προσβαλεῖν* (Theb. 616), *ὑποτοπήσαντες μὴ ἴσον ἔξειν* (Thuc. 5. 31), *ὑποπτοὶ ἦσαν μὴ προθύμως πέμψαι* (Thuc. 6. 75).

‘Neither to regard with honour stores of wealth without men, nor that success (*φῶς*) can come to the poor equal to their strength,’ in other words, ‘Men without wealth are weak: wealth without men is weaker than it looks.’ Her real anxiety, which is veiled, is that Xerxes’ hosts, with lavish appointment, may prove too weak for the Men without wealth, i. e. Greeks. If we retain *ἄφραστος*, this sense is the justification of an expression which would otherwise seem inexplicably emphatic. ‘The Greeks are weak in wealth (she hints), but their strength is great: we have great wealth: may not our *men* fail?’

168. *ἀμειψής*, i. e. not to be made light of, ‘great.’ *ὀφθαλμῶ*, ‘our Eye,’ a common Greek figure for any thing or person that is precious. So *ὀφθαλμὸς οἴκων*, Cho. 934; *ὀφθαλμὸς Σικελίας*, Pind. Ol. 2. 18; *μέγας γ’ ὀφθαλμὸς οἱ πατρὸς τάφοι*, Soph. O. T. 987; *ὄμμα πάσης χθονός*, Eum. 1025.

169. So Klytaemestra (Ag. 968 sqq.) says (in effect) ‘the return of the lord to his house is warmth in winter and coolness in summer.’

170. *πρὸς τὰδ’*, lit. ‘in view of this,’ i. e. ‘now therefore.’

171. *γηραλέα πιστώματα*, abstract for concrete (like *Χρυσήϊδων μείλιγμα*, Ag. 1439; *δοῦλευμα*, Ant. 756; *λάλημα*, ib. 320; *κῆδευμα*, O. T. 85, &c.), ‘faithful elders,’ a reference to the *πιστοί*, see note on 2.

172. *ἐν ὑμῖν ἔστι*, ‘depend on you,’ ‘rest with you’: so *ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν*, O. T. 314.

173. *μή σε δις φράσαι*, ‘that you shall not tell twice.’ The *aorist* after verbs of *thinking*, *expecting*, *assurance*, &c., is idiomatic in Greek, where in modern languages (and often also in Greek) the *future* is found: Phoen. 1599, *ἐθέσπισε φονέα γενέσθαι πατρός*; Aias 1082, *νόμιζε τὴν πόλιν χρόνῳ ποτὲ . . . πεσεῖν*; Orest. 1527, *δοκεῖς με τλῆναι*; and even *combined* with future, Theb. 427, *φῆσιν ἐκπέρσειν . . . οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς βολὴν σῆχεῖν*.

Observe also that the verb is *ἴσθι*, and therefore we have here infin. for partic. Antig. 1094, *ἐπιστάμεσθα . . . μηπόποτ’ αὐτὸν . . . λακεῖν*. *μή* (for *οὐ*) is regular usage after *imperative* *ἴσθι*, by a sort of attraction.

174. *μήτ’ ἔργον*, by an easy zeugma, after *φράσαι*.

*ὧν θέλη*, ‘wheresoe’er our power will guide you’: we should

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rather expect 'can' than 'will,' but with δύναμις 'can' would be clumsy.

[After 175 the trochaic measure is dropped, till Atossa has recounted her vision, and her reflections, in the ordinary iambs of the scenes: then it is resumed again (215) for the dialogue, until the messenger returns.]

178. Ἰαόνων, Ionic form for Ἰώνων.

179. εἰδόμεν: the middle ἰδέσθαι, common in Homer, is much used in Tragg. instead of the Attic εἶδον.

183. Δωρικοῖσι, the sleeveless brooch-fastened χιτῶν of the Dorians, which from the time of the Persian wars was the ordinary dress of all Greeks in Hellas, as opposed to the long-sleeved Ionian dress worn by Asiatics (Gardner, Greek Antiq., p. 50).

185. ἀμώμω, 'faultless.'

187. Observe the use of the word βάρβαρος, natural as addressed to an Athenian audience, but dramatically impossible in the queen's mouth. See note on 349.

188. τοῦτω . . τεύχειν, an unusual anacoluthon, where the verb is turned into infin. by the intervening sentence ὥς . . ὀράν, just as though ἐδόκουν was the principal verb: or as though ἐδοξάτην (181) was carried on in sense.

190. κατέιχε κἀπράνουν, 'strove to check and soothe their wrath,' common 'tentative' sense of imperf.

192. τῇδ' ἐπυργούτο στολῇ, 'she (the Asiatic) waxed proud with the trappings': she was proud of her slavery and easy to rule.

194. ἐσφάδαζε, 'struggled,' 'was restive': the word often used of 'gasps' or 'spasms' of a dying man. Eurip. (Frag. 821) uses it exactly as here, of horses: σφαδάζειν ὥς νεόζυγα πῶλον (cf. Soph. Ai. 833).

ἐντη, a vague word, 'trappings,' 'gear,' 'fittings,' used of armour, ἔντεα δύναι (Il. 3. 339); of rigging, ἔντεα νηός (Hymn. Apol. 489); of banquets, ἔντεα δαιτός (Od. 7. 232). So here of the fittings of a chariot, probably meaning the reins, cf. 196.

195. ξυναρπάξει, 'seized it,' the δίφρος.

196. ἄνευ χαλινῶν, 'free of the bridle': she had torn the reins to pieces.

199. πέπλους ῥήγνυσιν, the usual Oriental sign of sorrow and humiliation. See 125.

202. πηγῆς; to wash in the sea or fresh water after a bad dream or vision was a common Greek custom of purification: Apoll. Rhod. iv. 660, 'Kirke I found laving her head with sea-water: so with night-dreams had she been affrighted': Ar. Ran. 1338 (in the burlesque parody of Eurip.), the heroine after a 'dread vision' calls for water ὥς ἂν θείον ὄνειρον ἀποκλύσω. The

poet here and below is ascribing Greek feelings and customs to the Persians who had 'no altars, fires, libations, or cake offerings,' Herod. i. 132.

σὺν θυηπόλῳ χερσί, 'with sacrificial hand.' The poets often use σὺν instead of the simple dat. of 'instrument' or 'attendant circumstances': but here the use is specially easy, as the offerings or victims actually accompany her.

203. βωμόν: the acc. is rightly used since motion is implied: the phrase means, not 'I stood near,' but 'I went and stood near,' 'I drew near': like παρὰ σὲ καθέζομαι, &c.

ἀποτρόπαιοι, 'averters of ill' (usually ἀποτροπαίοις): Apollo is commonly so invoked, Aristoph. Eq. 1307, Av. 61, Plut. 359, perhaps both as Healer and Sun-god: night visions are 'shown to the Sun' (Soph. El. 424, Eur. I. T. 42). Here the god meant is clearly Φοῖβος (206), whose altar is the scene of the next omen.

204. πέλανον, 'cake,' 'paste,' stuff,' a vague word used poetically of many liquids or half-liquids, such as oil, honey, blood, gum, foam: specially as here and 524 of sacrificial cake, made of oil, honey, and meal, which was burnt on the altar (Cho. 92). Cf. 816, where it is used of blood.

ὧν τέλη τάδε, 'to whom these dues belong': τέλη 'rites' are here the offerings themselves, as τέλη ἔγκαρπα, 'offerings of fruit,' Soph. Tr. 238.

207. κίρκος, the 'falcon' is sacred to Apollo, as a bird of omen: Od. 15. 529 is called Ἀπόλλωνος ταχύς ἄγγελος: here attacks and mangles an eagle (the bird of Zeus), a stronger and swifter bird than himself, who is taking refuge at the altar: altogether a fearful portent!

δρόμῳ, 'at full speed,' a natural extension of meaning.

213. οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος πόλει: it is far best to take this as a sudden thought, a dramatic change of phrase from what she was going to say. She begins, 'if he win he will be the wonder of all men, if he fail'—[the disgrace will be as great is the natural antithesis: she shrinks from this, and like a proud queen of despotic power substitutes] 'he is not answerable to the state: but in either case, if only he return safe (σωθείς), he is ruler of the land.'

217. ἀποτροπήν τελεῖν, 'to turn aside': here and 222 they advise the common prayer of one in perplexity at an ominous event, viz., 'that the good may be fulfilled, the evil averted': so Soph. El. 646 Klytaemestra (troubled by a dream) prays 'if good it may be accomplished, if ill, it may be turned upon her foes': and Ag. 144, after gloomy prophecy of the seer, the Chorus pray to Artemis ξύμβολα κράναι δεξιὰ μὲν, κατὰ μομφα



δὲ φάσματ' ἀνορθοῦν [last word an ingenious emendation of Wecklein], 'to fulfil the propitious signs, and correct the evil visions.'

ἀποτροπήν, ο long: so ἀποκρύψει (Prom. 24), μηλοτρόφου (Persae, 763), and frequently.

220. χέασθαι middle is an Epic usage (Od. 11. 26, χοὰς χέομεν) adopted by the poets (Oid. Kol. 477, Orest. 472).

222. So Cho. 147 Elektra pours libations on the tomb of Agamemnon, and prays him πομπὸς ἴσθι τῶν ἐσθλῶν ἄνω. Dead heroes and kings are powerful below.

223. κάτοχα . . σκότω, 'wrapt in darkness.' ἀμαυροῦσθαι, lit. 'dimmed,' i. e. hidden.

224. θυμόμαντις, 'divining by my spirit,' i. e. not by divine inspiration, but human insight: the same contrast O. T. 397, γνώμη κυρήσας, οὐδ' ἀπ' οἰωνῶν μαθών.

225. τελεῖν, 'will turn out,' intransitive as Theb. 659, εἰσόμεσθα ὅποι τελεῖ; Cho. 1021, οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅπη τελεῖ.

πανταχῇ, it will 'anyhow' be well, because (should the prayer be heard) if the omen is good all will be prosperous, if bad the ill will be averted. For κρίνομεν (of interpreting dreams) see next note.

226-7. The phrase τήνδ' ἐκύρωσας φάτιν, literally means 'hast confirmed this utterance,' which is taken two ways: (1) 'hast given this sure *interpretation*,' (2) 'hast settled on this *advice*.' But the phrase recurs 521, τῇδ' ἐκύρωσεν φάτις ὑμῶν, where the context is decisive for (2). It may be added that (1) would be a mere repetition of τῶνδ' ἐνυπνίων κριτής, which is unlikely. Moreover, the *advice* is clear and full: the interpretation is most doubtful. Translate: 'Indeed 'tis with loyal heart toward my son and my house that thou the first interpreter of these visions hast given this sure advice'; so the schol. on 521. κρίνω is the regular word for 'interpreting' dreams, cf. ὄνειροκρίτης, Cho. 37, κριταὶ τῶνδ' ὄνειράτων. The *first* interpretation was (by a natural superstition) regarded as important: if unfavourable, the bad omen was strengthened.

229. θήσομεν, 'order,' 'arrange': so τὰ δ' ἄλλα φροντίς . . θήσει δικαίως, Ag. 913; πῶς τιθεῖσ' ἄμομφος ὦ; Eum. 678. There is no need for Wecklein's ingenious emendation φίλα for φίλοις.

232. 'The setting of the Sun's decline,' stately pleonastic expression in Aeschylus' manner. Wecklein quotes Prom. 6, δεσμῶν . . πέδαις; Pers. 436, συμφορὰ πάθους, 543, λέκτρων εὐνάς: the slight difference of *aspect* or *abstractness* in the words is enough to explain and justify the pleonasm.

233. ἀλλὰ μὲν, 'but yet': she finds it is hard to believe Xerxes would have gone to take it if it is really so far.

234. An Athenian speaking to Athens naturally boasts that, if Athens is taken, all Greece is taken.

236. τοιοῦτος is explained by ἔρξας . . . κακά : an idiomatic use : Plat. Apol. 33 A τοιοῦτος φανοῦμαι . . . οὐδενὶ συγχωρήσας. ἔρξας is unconnected, as always with words which are *explanatory*. 'Many ills' is a euphemistic reference to Marathon.

238. ἀργύρου πηγῇ, 'the spring of silver' is the Laurian silver mines in S. Attica. Shortly before the invasion of Xerxes Themistokles had persuaded Athens to build 200 ships, and employ for the purpose large funds, kept in the treasury, from the proceeds of these very Laurian mines (Herod. 8. 144). As Athens was saved by her fleet, one understands the interest which these lines would have for the audience.

239. 'Is the bow-stretched arrow seen in their hands?' πρέπω, a favourite word of Aesch., used of sight, sound, and even smell—anything that strikes on the senses : of *sight*, πρέπουσα ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς, Ag. 242 ; of *sound*, βοὴν ἄμικτον . . . πρέπειν, ib. 321 ; of *smell*, ἀτμός πρέπει, ib. 1311.

240. ἔγχη σταδαῖα, 'spears for close fight,' opposed to the skirmish, to which archers and other light-armed troops are suited.

φεράσπιδες σαγαί, 'shielded armour,' describes (in Aeschylean style) the hoplite: the skirmishers wore the *pelta* or light shield.

241. ποιμάνωρ, lit. 'shepherd,' i. e. 'king,' see 75.

243. The despotic queen assumes that an army without a king cannot stand their ground: the answer is bitter and effective, 'They did so, to the destruction of Dareios' army!'

245. κiónτων. MSS. read ἰόντων, but this cannot give the sense 'gone' which is required. I have adopted Wecklein's ingenious κiónτων, which might easily have been corrupted into the common word ἰόντων: for K after IΣ easily drops out.

Note that we have τῶν omitted with the participle, an Epic usage common in Aesch., e. g. πέμπει παραβάσιν Ἐρινύν, Ag. 59; τίοντας, 'those who honour,' ib. 706; πιπλάντων, Cho. 360.

Note also that τοῖς τεκοῦσι governs *genitive*, cf. Eur. Alk. 167, αὐτῶν ἢ τεκοῦσα. The fact is that ὁ τεκῶν, ἡ τεκοῦσα are often used as *nouns*, with gen., as well as *participles* with the proper acc. The Latin *parens* was originally participle.

246. ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, the 'restrictive' infin., limiting the sentence with a qualification ('at least to my thought'): like ὡς εἰπεῖν, ξυνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν.

πάντα ναμερτῇ λόγον, 'the whole tale truly told,' ναμερτῇ being practically predicative in use.



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247. Περσικὸν πρέπει μαθεῖν, 'is plainly Persian to see,' μαθεῖν the common 'explanatory' inf. (like κλύειν next line).

[Enter a Messenger in haste.]

250. μέγας: the MSS. read πολὺς, which has crept in by error from 251, and here is hardly Greek. Heimsoeth reads ταῦς, an old adj. quoted by Hesych. and explained as μέγας: but the word is unknown outside Hesych. and cannot be safely read here. Moreover Eurip. Or. 1077 has the very phrase μέγας πλούτου λιμήν (clearly imitated from this), 'haven of wealth,' a characteristic picturesque phrase for a place where wealth pours in from all lands.

251. No caesura: there are many such lines in Aesch. Here (as in some of the other lines) the slowness and weight of the line is appropriate to the grievous tidings. So 352, 465, 469, 489, 503, 509; Prom. 6, 113.

256-89. This passage consists of a dialogue [between the Chorus (in lyric lamentations) and the messenger (in iambic couplets describing the disaster)] which is neither strictly an act (ἐπεισόδιον), nor a στάσιμον or antistrophic choric song, but is of the nature of a κομμός or lament carried on between the two. There is a similar passage Ag. 1072-1177, where Kasandra utters lyric cries, and the Chorus respond at first with iambic lines, afterward with lyric (dochmiac) replies.

256. ἄνια, 'painful,' 'miserable,' usually ἀνιπάρ. So 1055, 1060.

257. νεόκοτα καὶ δαί, 'strange and cruel.'

258. διαίνεσθ', imp. 'weep' (lit. 'be wetted' with tears).

260. ὥς . . . γ', 'ay, for,' the common use of γε in dialogue, assenting but qualifying.

261. νόστιμον φάος, the Homeric νόστιμον ἡμαρ, with the additional suggestion of joy or happiness conveyed by the word φάος 'light.'

262. 'Verily too long a life is this that is given us elders, to hear, &c.,' i.e. I have lived too long when I hear such trouble.

267. ἐπορσύνθη, 'were provided,' 'were sent': there is a touch of irony in using a word more natural with blessings.

269. βέλεα παμμιγῇ, 'weapons of every fashion': they think of the boasted number and variety (50 sqq.) of nations, forces, and arms, now all crushed in one disaster.

M reads γὰς . . . ἦλθ' ἐπ' αἶαν, Ἑλλάδα χώραν, where we have the double awkwardness of a Persian calling Greece δῖαν, and two nouns for 'land' in apposition. Weil reads τᾶσδ' for γὰς, αἶας for αἶαν: and Blomfield found δαῖαν in one late MS.

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and reads δῶαν. These emendations are all easy and much improve the sense.

275. ἀλίδονα μέλεα πολυβαφῇ, 'sea-tossed sodden limbs,' forcible picture of the drowned men. μέλεα, a reading found in the margin of a late MS., is no doubt right for the unmetrical σώματα of the MSS.: it is the usual case of a gloss supplanting the true reading. πολυβαφῇ, being metrically equivalent to παμμιγῇ, may be accepted: no need for παμβαφῇ (Kaiser).

277. The reading of MSS. πλαγκτοῖς ἐν διπλάκεσσι is obviously corrupt: it could only mean 'in their wandering (i. e. washed hither and thither) cloaks,' which is impossible. Scholl. give wild interpretations (e. g. 'διπλάκεσσι, the two plains, land and sea'!!). Hartung's σπιλάδεσσι, 'rocks,' is almost certainly right. Perhaps πλαγκτῶν, agreeing with φίλων (Weil), is the most likely correction of πλαγκτοῖς.

The sense will then be: 'Alas the sea-tossed sodden dead limbs of our dear comrades—thou tellest—washed hither and thither [lit. 'wandering'] among the reefs.'

279-82. MSS. read Πέρσαις after δυσαιωνῇ and βοάν before. Far the best and simplest correction is Wecklein's, to change the places of the two. I take Wecklein's ἤνυσαν for ἔθεσαν, which restores the metre. I have ventured to read δάους (for δάοις, which can hardly be translated) in the sense 'of the foe,' common acc. after verbs of *telling* or *speaking* of, here (by a very easy extension) after ἔνυξε . . . βοάν.

'Utter a cry, sorrowful and woful to the Persians, of the foe, how deadly were all the deeds they wrought, alas! to the slaughter of our host.'

286. δάοις, 'to her foes,' is the simplest and most natural rendering.

288. μάταν, 'for naught,' i. e. having done nothing to deserve it. So schol. μηδὲν βλαψάσας.

289. MSS. read ἔκτισαν εὐνιδας which does not suit the metre (ἤνυσαν, αἰαῖ στρα-) of the strophe. I adopt Boeckh's εὐνιδας ἔκτισσαν (Epic form), which is the simplest emendation.

295. καταστάς, 'composing thyself,' 'calmly.' So Ar. Ran. 1044 καθεστηκός, 'settled,' of a wind; and Arist. Pol. 8. 5. 22 uses the adverb καθεστηκóτως for 'steadily,' 'calmly.'

296. τίς οὐ τίθηκε: she naturally wishes for the good news first: but the phrase forcibly suggests disaster.

297. σκηπτουχία, 'command': the general, like the king, holds the 'staff.' So σκηπτούχος βασιλεύς in Homer.

298. ἀνανδρον, 'bereft of the man,' i. e. the leader.

300. φάος (Epic), 'delight,' 'joy,' as above, 261.

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302. *μυρίας ἵππων*: *ἵππος* fem. is used *collectively*, for 'cavalry,' even in prose, *ἡ διακοσία ἵππος*, Thuc. 1. 62. So line 315 inf.

*βραβεύς*, properly 'one who presides' at a contest, a judge: here used for 'commander.' So Ag. 230 it is used for 'princes,' 'leaders.'

On the quantity, *Ἀρτεμβάρης*, see above, 29.

The whole speech, 302-30, is a fine example of Aeschylus' power of swift and forcible narrative, in the Epic vein: while it serves the dramatic purpose of heightening the disaster, when Bactrian, Aegyptian, Trojan, Sardinian, Mysian, Cilician, &c. have all lost their leaders—and those (he grimly adds, 330) 'but a few out of many.'

303. *παρ' ἀκτᾶς*, not 'on' (which would be dat.) but 'along': suggesting repeated battering of the hapless man as he drifted along.

The 'Silenian (rocks),' acc. to the schol., are a portion of the coast of Salamis near the *Τρόπαιος ἄκρα* or 'Trophy-head,' clearly named after the victory.

305. 'Sprang with a nimble leap from the ship,' a sort of grim and bitter irony: so Eur. Phoin. 1150-I, where a messenger, in describing the fighting before Thebes, says, 'And of our men many a tumbler thou wouldst have seen fallen to earth,' very much in the same spirit, and perhaps imitated from our passage. The original is prob. Il. 16. 745 *ἦ μάλ' ἐλαφρὸς ἀνὴρ, ὥς ρεία κυβιστᾶ*: but this is taunting a fallen foe, which is of course done in quite a different spirit.

306. *ἀριστεύς*, Blomfield's conj. for *ἄριστος*: a noun is required, else we have two adjs. in apposition to the name.

*ἰθαγενής*, 'true-born,' i. e. a real native. (The word is Homeric (Od. 14. 203), used of legitimate sons opposed to *νόθοι*.)

307. *πολεῖ*, 'haunts,' 'visits': another stroke of grim irony to describe the corpse repeatedly washing up against the rocky coast. The transitive use is mainly confined to 'turning the soil': but the compound *ἀναπολέω* is always transitive. Emper ingeniously conjectured *σποδεῖ* (a very easy correction which may be right), 'batters': but I retain the MSS. reading as it will probably stand, and varies the form of the irony.

'The isle of Aias' is of course Salamis.

309. *πελειοθρέμωνα*, 'nurse of doves,' generally taken (with the schol. and Hesych.) to be another descriptive phrase for Salamis, which according to a (doubtful) line in a Homeric hymn (10. 4) was sacred to Aphrodite, with whom the dove was connected. Hermann however argues that it was one of the islets near Salamis: the phrase seems obscure, without any name, or any other support to the theory: and it is safer to follow the schol.

310. MSS. read νικώμενοι, an impossible word (and tense) of dead bodies knocked against the rocks by waves. I have taken Wecklein's δινεύμενοι which exactly suits, and is an easy change.

κύρισον, 'buted,' a forcible vivid word in the poet's manner. Note the Epic unaugmented form: so πέσον, 313; τροπούτο, 376; παίοντ', 416; κυκλοῦντο, 458; θάνον, 490; πίπτον, 506. This usage in Attic drama is confined to the *narrative* speeches, generally of messengers, which may be called the Epic element in tragedy; and the Epic forms seemed naturally suitable to these rapid narrations.

The licence is also found in Soph. and Eur., e.g. O. Kol. 1602, 1606-7-8, 1624; Eur. Bacch. 1066, 1084, &c.

It may be observed that in this line (and some of the instances quoted) the unaugmented form occurs *after a diphthong or long vowel*, where the augment may have been felt to be rather absorbed (prodelision) than absent. So below, 490.

311. 'Neighbouring the springs of Nile' is probably only Aeschylean for 'Egyptian,' and has no reference to the *sources* of the Nile, quite unknown then and 24 centuries after.

312. Φερессάκης (Bothe's correction for the corrupt φρεσεύης of M) may be an adj. ('shield-bearer') agreeing with Φαρνοῦχος, as some prefer: or a name, as I have printed it.

314. Χρυσεύς, 'of Chryse,' a place in the Troad, Il. 1. 37.

315. μελαίνης some take of the 'swarthy' troopers: but more probably it refers to the horses. This suits ἵππου better: and is so less grotesque than as an antithesis to the 'red-haired' (πυρρήν) leader.

316. For the accumulated adjectives, cf. Ag. 154 φοβερά παλινόρτος οἰκονόμος δολία μνάμων μήνις τεκνόποινος, *sic* adjectives! This habit however is found chiefly in lyrics.

317. πορφυρᾷ βαφῇ are the 'bloodstains.'

319. Another stroke of grim irony: the Bactrian warrior, battered against the reefs of Salamis, is a 'stranger in a hard land.'

320. πολύπονον, 'toilsome,' 'labouring' spear: of a strong enduring fighter.

321. Ἀριόμαρδος Σάρδεσι. This line has been suspected, because it violates the law of the 'Cretic,' i.e. that when the last word is a Cretic (— —) the fifth foot must not (as here) be a spondee.

But there are a few instances of the irregularity, the clearest being Eur. Phoin. 747, ἀμφοτέρων ἀπολειφθέν γὰρ οὐδὲν θάτερον, for which no plausible emendation has been proposed. It is quite possible that this line is genuine, especially as it is in an early play of Aeschylus, and the licence occurs in proper names.

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There is however another difficulty, that Ariomardos is said (38) to be 'ruler of Thebes (in Egypt),' and here his death 'brings mourning to Sardis.' Schol. says 'Sardis was his home,' and Hermann argues he may have been a Persian from Sardis appointed to be governor in Egypt. The name is certainly Persian.

324. Λυρναῖος, 'of Lyrnesos,' a town in S. Troad. Stephanos (Byzantine geographer 5th cent. A. D.) quotes this line, identifying Aeschylos' Lyrne with Lyrnesos.

325. οὐ μάλ' εὐτυχῶς: another ironic phrase, referring perhaps not merely to his painful death, but to his body being unburied.

326. εἰς: so εὐδοκιμώτατος εἰς σοφίαν, Plat. Apol. 29 D: a not uncommon variation for the dative.

330. πολλῶν παρόντων δ': notice δέ in the *third* (instead of the *second*) place. See note on 816.

334. δέ is superfluous after ἀτὰρ . . . πάλιν: but it is exactly paralleled by Plat. Gorg. 414 D φέρε πρὸς θεῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σωκράτης πῶς ἔχει . . . ;

335. ἡξίωσε, 'thought fit,' i. e. 'claimed,' 'dared.' So the middle is used φονεὺς . . . εἶναι . . . ἡξιώσατο, Eum. 425.

336. ἐμβολή, regularly of attack by *ships*, προσβολή by *land forces*, ἐσβολή, of *invasion*: the natural preposition in each case.

338. κρατῆσαι, 'were stronger': it might have seemed that κρατεῖν was the more natural tense: but the aorist is often found when the emphasis is only on the *fact*. Thus we even find ἐβασίλευσε πεντήκοντα ἔτη and similar phrases.

338-43. For the question of the numbers of ships on the Greek and Persian side, see Appendix. It is enough to say here that Aesch. and Herodotos (7. 89) agree that the Persian fleet contained 1,207 ships, and that this agreement cannot be accidental.

342. The two words ὑπέροκμος, 'overboastful,' and ὑέροκος, 'excessive,' are both used by Aesch. and are confused in the MSS. In Cho. 136 they rightly read ὑπερκόπως, required by the metre: in Sept. 455, where again ὑπερκόπως δορί is required by the metre, they read ὑπερκόμῳ; and here also they read ὑέροκομοι. 'Ships boasting in their speed' might do: but the better and more natural phrase is 'ships excelling in speed,' ὑέροκοποι, which Wakefield proposed, and I have adopted. As between these two words the MS. authority, convicted of confusion, is clearly of less weight than usual.

344. λειφθῆναι, 'to fall short,' an idiomatic use, whether *literally*, 'be behind,' Prom. 857, κίρκοι πελειῶν . . . λελειμμένοι, or *metaphorically*, 'be inferior,' as here. He answers the



question himself, 'Force we had: but the gods loaded the scales in favour of Athens (345-7).'

346. ἰσορρόπῳ: keeping up the metaphor of scales, 'equal-balanced.'

347-9. The Medicean MS. marks 347 with a dash, a common way of indicating that the speaker is changed. This has led to various proposals to rearrange and re-assign the three lines. But the text as it stands will do, except that (with Schütz) we must give 347 to the messenger. It is clear what has happened. 347 has no connecting particle, and therefore was supposed to be a *reply*: but the absence of connexion is right, since the line is a mere *summary* of the two previous lines in other words: and the universal idiom in Greek is to dispense with connexion in such *explanatory* clauses.

349. A very fine answer to a hard question. Atossa asks 'Is the city yet untaken?' The messenger cannot say 'yes,' for it *had* been occupied and ravaged: yet he had just said 'The gods *save* the city.' So he answers 'while men remain, defence is sure.' The Persian's speech here as elsewhere is coloured with Athenian sentiment<sup>1</sup>. The poet writing a patriotic drama for Athenian ears cannot help making the enemy's narrative turn to the glory of Athens.

Of course in reality a messenger would have enlarged on the sack of Athens.

352. For absence of caesura see note on 251.

καταυχῆσας, 'waxing proud' (aorist).

354. ἀλάστωρ, 'Avenging spirit,' the personified curse which attends on Pride or Sin, Ag. 1501, 1508; Supp. 415.

355-60. This is the famous story told afterwards by Herodotos 8. 75, how Themistokles, unable to persuade the Peloponnesian chiefs to remain at Salamis, sent his slave Sikinnos to the Persian generals to say that his master wished well to the Persians, but that the Greek fleet was in alarm and dissension, and about to fly; and advised them to enclose the fleet and attack them later, promising an easy victory.

360. δρασμῶ, 'flight,' lit. 'running off,' a contemptuous expression: Herod. uses the very word, perhaps taken from here (δρησμόν βουλεύονται).

362. φθόνος, the 'jealous displeasure' of the gods against any form of Pride, Presumption, or excessive wealth or prosperity of man—a deep-lying Greek feeling and superstition, common in Aesch. Agamemnon feels afraid of it, when he treads on the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the regular use by the Persian queen or messenger of the word βάρβαρος, lines 187, 255, 337, 391, 423, 434, 475, 635, 798, 844.

purple carpet, on his triumphant return (Ag. 947); Klytaimestra pretends to feel it, after her extravagant burst of (assumed) joy at the king's return (Ag. 904); Aigisthos feels it, after glorying over his enemy's (supposed) death, Soph. El. 1466.

365. *τέμενος* (see note on *ἄλσος*, III) : properly a piece of land set apart and dedicated to a god. Thus Zeus has 'a *τέμενος* and altar of sacrifice' at Gargaros (Il. 8. 48) : the same phrase of Aphrodite at Paphos (Od. 8. 363). Hence the poets use it metaphorically: Pindar calls Syracuse *τέμενος Ἀρεος* (Pyth. 2. 2), and the Nile-valley *τέμενος Νείλοιο* (Pyth. 4. 99). So here 'the holy expanse of air,' 'the sacred space of heaven.'

366. *στῖφος*, see 20.

367. *φυλάσσειν*, inf. after the notion of *orders* contained in *τάξαι*. This inf. is common in prose.

371. *πᾶσιν*, i. e. all the captains, *ναύαρχοις* (363).

*στέρεσθαι*, the regular form in pres. (and impf.) instead of *σπερούμαι*, which is hardly found.

376. The oar (*κώπη*) was fastened by a thong (*τροπωτήρ*) to the thole-pin (*σκαλμός*). The verb for such fastening is *τροποῦσθαι*. *εὐήρετμον* is 'proleptic,' i. e. gives the *result* of the action.

378-9. The phrases 'king of the oar,' 'lord of arms' are stately poetic diction for 'rower' and 'soldier.' So Alkestis 498 *πέλτης ἀναξ*, 1040 *ὄχων ἀνάσσειν*, Hel. 1267 *ἐρετμῶν ἐπιστάτης*, &c.

380. *ναῦς μακρά* is the regular word for a 'warship.'

382. *διάπλοον καθίστασαν*, 'kept them rowing about.'

385. *ἐκπλουν . . . καθίστατο*, 'tentative' imperfect, 'strove to sail out.'

386. *λευκόπωλος*, 'day with her white steeds,' is a Homeric memory: Od. 23. 246 *Λάμπρον καὶ Φαέθονθ' οἷ τ' Ἡὼ πῶλοι ἄγουσι*, 'Brilliant and Bright, the steeds that bear the Dawn.' White horses are ascribed to Persephone (Pind. Ol. 6. 95) and the Dioskouroi (Pind. Pyth. 1. 66). They are considered especially swift: Rhesos' horses (Il. 10. 437) are 'whiter than snow and swift as winds.' Latin poets imitate: Turnus' horses, Aen. 12. 84, *equis albis*, Hor. Sat. 1. 7. 8 [Jebb, Soph. El. 706].

388. 'First loud from the Greeks rose a sound as of song, a joyful strain': the phrase is loaded and emphatic in Aeschylus' manner, to describe the paean: but there is no need of Wecklein's ingenious reading *ἤχει* with a stop at *παρά*, which leaves *μολπηδὸν ἠυφήμησεν* unconnected.

392. *γνώμης ἀποσφαλείσιν*, 'dashed from their hope.' *ὡς φυγῇ*, 'as in flight': it could hardly be '*for* flight,' as schol. explains.



395. πάντ' ἐκείν' ἐπέφλεγεν, not (as some take it) intransitive 'flamed over all those parts' but in the regular transitive sense 'set all their side afire,' a far finer expression. So Vergil took it, 'Martem accendere cantu,' Aen. 6. 165: and so the schol.

396. ξυνεμβολῇ is the simultaneous start of all the oars: 'dipped together their splashing oars.'

399-400. εὐτάκτως and κόσμῳ mean much the same: but there is no ground for suspecting corruption. Cf. συμφορὰ πάθους 436, a similar pleonasm.

406. 'Then from our side a clamour of Persian cries answered.'

408. χαλκῆρη στόλον, 'bronze-sheathed beak': the στόλος was a sharpened beam, projecting in front, and armed with bronze covering, which was used to damage the enemy's ship by ramming.

411. κόρυμβα was the name of the stern decorations of ancient ships (a sort of feather-shaped end to the stern-post) which were kept as a trophy by the conqueror. If one ship charged another from behind, it would be the first thing broken off. [The position is proved by the passage in Apoll. Rhod. 2. 601, where Athena thrusts the Argo through the Symplegades: 'it sped like an arrow, but yet the clashing rocks brake off the topmost heads of the stern-post' (ἀφλάστοιο παρέθρισαν ἄκρα κόρυμβα). See Torr, 'Ancient Ships,' p. 68, and figs. 35, 36.] The word is used below metaphorically for 'top' or 'peak.'

δόρυ, 'the timber,' poetic for 'the ship,' as often in Tragedy, ἐπὶ ζυγῷ δορός, Ag. 1618; Supplic. 135, &c.

412. ῥεύμα, 'the stream,' i.e. the long line: cf. ῥεύματι φωτῶν, 88.

416. κωπήρη στόλον, 'the array of oar-blades,' which would be shattered in the fouling of a mass of ships too close together. στόλος here in the *general* sense, not the special use 408.

417. οὐκ ἀφρασμόνως, 'with skill.'

421. χοιράδες (lit. 'hogs' backs'), 'reefs': so *dorsum* is used in Latin of a rock-ridge: 'dorsum immane mari summo,' Aen. 1. 110.

424. τοὶ δ', the Greeks. We observe the Epic form τοί, adopted by the same instinct as the unaugmented verbs, see on 310.

βόλον, 'a catch' of fish (schol. ἄγραν).

425. ἀγαῖσι, 'fragments,' 'splinters.'

428. ἀφείλετο, 'took away,' i.e. 'stayed the slaughter.'

431. μηδám, neut. plur. μηδαμά used as adv., lit. 'nowise,' i.e. 'never.'

τοσουτάριθμον, 'so great in number.' The word is doubted: but the schol. recognizes it, and it is a formation of the same kind as τοιοντότροπος, which is found in Herod. 7. 26 and Thuc.

2. 8. M reads *τοσοῦτ' ἀριθμόν*, which of course is possible: but it seems a duller and a balder phrase.

The inf. after *ἴσθι* (instead of the partic.) is a variation from Attic diction; but is common in poetry, e.g. Soph. Ant. 1092; El. 908; O. T. 1455, &c. It recurs again immediately 435, for *μεσοῦν* is probably infin.

436. *συμφορὰ πάθους*, 'affliction of woe': for the doubly presented idea compare *εὐτάκτως . . . κόσμῳ* (399-400). So *συμφορὰ κακῶν* 439.

437. i. e. 'so as to weigh twice as heavy in the scale as *these*,' the ills mentioned 433. The metaphor from *weighing* is one of the commonest in Greek, as the words *ισόρροπος*, *ἀντιρρέπω*, *ροπή*, &c. show.

440. *ῥέπουσαν ἐς τὰ μᾶσσονα*, 'tending to worse.'

441. *ἀκμαῖοι φύσιν*, 'in the prime of their vigour.' *φύσις* is a variable word in meaning: here 'bodily condition'; Supp. 496, 'appearance'; Cho. 279, 'healthy flesh' (opp. to *ulcers*); Prom. 489, 'nature,' 'character'; O. T. 740, 'stature,' &c.

443. *πίστιν ἐν πρώτοις*, 'among the first in loyalty,' the acc. *πίστιν* depending on *ἐν πρώτοις*, equivalent to an adj. like *ἀκμαῖοι*, *ἄριστοι*, *ἐκπρεπεῖς* on which the other accusatives depend.

445. *συμφορᾶς*, gen. after *οἱ γὰρ τάλαινα*, common after exclamations, *ὦ*, *οἶμοι*, &c. and words like *τάλας*. It belongs to the large class of the gen. of respect. See 517, 918, 985.

447. *νῆσος*, Psyttaleia, a small island a mile long, half a mile from the coast of Attica, and rather less from Salamis, right in the channel where the battle was. After telling the story of Themistokles' stratagem (see above 355) Herod. goes on (8. 76): 'the Persians, believing what was told them, conveyed a large force on to the island Psyttaleia . . . with this intention, that when the battle was fought (since the men and the wrecks would be most likely to be cast up [*ἐξοισομένων*] on this island, lying as it does right in the channel where the coming battle would be) they might get possession of the wrecks, and kill the men'—almost exactly the same account. The conjecture *ἐξοισοίετο* (see below, note on 450), was made by Stahl because of Herodotos' word *ἐξοισομένων*.

449. *ἐμβατεύει*, 'visits,' 'haunts.' Pan, who (according to a Homeric Hymn 19. 6) 'loves mountain tops and rocky paths,' was worshipped in the island. Pausanias, 1. 36. 2, reports 'that there were no artistic statues (*σὺν τέχνῃ ἄγαλμα*) of Pan in the island, but rude images of wood' (*ὥς ἕκαστον ἔτυχε ξόανα πεποιημένα*). Herod. has a story how in the crisis before Marathon, when Pheidippides was sent to Sparta for aid, Pan appeared to him, and promised help to Athens, but complained that the

Athenians had neglected him. Athens accordingly afterwards set up his worship in the Akropolis (Herod. 6. 105).

450. πέμπει, sc. Xerxes.

ὅπως, ὅταν . . . ἐκσφῶζοιτο. According to the ordinary practice of Greek this sentence would be either *ὅτε* . . . ἐκσφῶζονται or *ὅταν* . . . ἐκσφῶνται. But there are a number of examples from various prose authors and poets where, if the sentence is (as here) past oblique, the optative is kept, in spite of the conjunction or relative having *ἄν*. Thus Dem. 865. 6 ἡγείτο δίκην λήψεσθαι, ἐπειδὴν . . . δοκιμασθεῖν: Xen. Mem. 1. 2. 6 ἀνδραποδιστὰς . . . ἀπεκάλει, διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι αὐτοῖς διαλέγεσθαι παρ' ὧν ἂν λάβοιεν τὸν μισθόν: Isocr. 17. 15 ἡξίου μαστιγοῦν . . . ἔως ἂν τὰ ληθὴ δόξειεν αὐτοῖς λέγειν. So Xen. Cyr. 7. 5. 49; Hell. 2. 14. 8; 2. 3. 48; Soph. Trach. 2, 164, 687. Of course many of these have been emended: in prose *ἄν* can be dropped, and the verse-passages altered. But this is an unsatisfactory method of dealing with so many instances, especially as the *oratio obliqua* is always a feature of such sentences, and probably is the reason for the usage. It is very unlikely that this common form of sentence should only have been thus corrupted in *oratio obliqua* passages.

νεῶν φθαρέντες, 'wrecked from their ships': νεῶν, gen. of separation; preposition often omitted in poetry, as in Epic.

ἐκσφῶζοιτο, 'landed safe,' νῆσον being acc. as the verb implies motion. There is no need for Stahl's conjecture ἐξοισοῖτο.

453. πόρων, of the sea, as 357, 501, and frequently. It is strictly (as here) of narrow seas, 'waterways,' 'straits'; but is often used more loosely.

454. κακῶς . . . ἱστορῶν, 'ill-knowing.' ἱστορέω is from ἵστωρ (stein *Fiδ*- 'get knowledge,' 'find'), old Homeric word, 'one who finds,' 'judge,' 'arbitrator.' The verb is used for 'inquire,' 'learn,' or 'know': Eum. 455 πατέρα δ' ἱστορεῖς καλῶς, 'thou knowest'; Prom. 632 τὴν τῆσδε πρῶτον ἱστορήσωμεν νόσον, 'let us learn.'

457-8. ἀμφὶ δὲ κυκλοῦντο, for ἀμφεκυκλοῦντο; the Epic use of tmesis (prep. separated from compound verb) as well as absence of augment (see 310). Tmesis recurs 872, 917.

ἀμηχανεῖν, the Persians, of course (as schol. says). The omission is rather unusual, but the sense is unmistakeable. So below, 462, where the Greeks are the subject, and are not named.

462. ἐξ ἑνὸς ῥόθου: ῥόθος is the 'rush' of waters, and seems to include the notion both of *swiftness* and of *sound*, one or other notion prevailing according to the place. Here either 'with one rush,' or 'with one cry' would do: but as Aeschylus only uses the word twice, here and 406—where it undoubtedly

means *sound*—we had perhaps better take it ‘with one shout.’ So *ῥοθιάς* 396.

463. *κρεοκοποῦσι*, ‘cut to pieces’: the word properly means ‘to mince meat,’ and is decidedly audacious though effective. Eurip. uses it (perhaps in imitation or mockery of this line) in *Kyklops* 358.

464. *ἔξαπέφθειραν*, notice the rare compound, for emphasis, ‘utterly destroyed’: imitated by Soph. *Trach.* 713.

465. No caesura: see note on 251. This is one of the cases where the heavy effect of no caesura suits the sense. It occurs again 469.

466. *παντὸς εὐαγῇ στρατοῦ*, ‘in sight of the whole army.’ This must be the meaning, though the derivation is obscure. We have (Eur. *Suppl.* 652) *ἔστην θεατῆς, πύργον εὐαγῇ λαβών* in exactly the same sense: while Bacch. 662 *χιόνος εὐαγείς βολαί* means ‘clear-*seen*,’ not ‘clear-*seeing*.’ So in English we can say equally ‘his sight was clear’ and ‘the view was clear.’ There is another quite distinct word *εὐαγής* (from *ἄγος*) meaning ‘righteous,’ ‘pure,’ which we have in Soph. *O. T.* 921, *Antig.* 521, and many other places.

467. *ὄχθον*: the ‘hill’ was the slope (Herod. 8. 90) at the south end of Mount Aigaleos, the ridge that separated the plain of Eleusis from the south-east plain in which Athens lies. The Sacred Road to Eleusis went over a col of this ridge: the west end of it (where Xerxes sat) commands Salamis, hardly a mile off, and the strait where the battle was fought.

470. *ἦσ’*, intrans. ‘starts.’ So Eur. *Rhes.* 291: and regularly of springs and rivers.

472. *ἔψευσας φρενῶν*, ‘cheated of their wits.’ So Aias 1391 *ἔψευσας ἐλπίδων*.

473. *πικράν*, ‘to his cost’: a common use, the adj. always being, as here, in emphatic position, see *Od.* 17. 448; *Prom.* 739.

474. *ἀπήρκεσαν*, ‘sufficed,’ i. e. to satisfy the ‘malignant spirit.’ The number slain at Marathon Herod. (6. 117) puts at 6400.

476. *ἀντίποινα*, ‘requital.’ *πράξειν*, in its special sense ‘to exact,’ used of payments, penalties, retribution, &c.

478-9. *αἱ . . . τάσδ’*. There is no need to alter this prosaically to *οἱ . . . τοῦσδ’* with Thurot and many modern edd. The queen asks of the *ships* that escaped: the answer is (as of course she means) about the *men*. *ναῶν οἱ* would be a very awkward expression.

*κατ’ οὖρον*, ‘where the wind bore them’ (as schol. says).

481. *οὐκ εὐκόσμον*, a mild expression (with the common Greek *meiosis*) for ‘in confusion.’

482. *τε*, because many other places are to be mentioned,

though with a natural irregularity this sentence takes another turn.

484. οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἄσθματος κενοί, lit. 'empty from hard breathing,' a rather strained and bold expression for 'exhausted with hard efforts.' [Corruption has been suspected: but though the diction is careless, the sense is plain—'Some faint from thirst perished round the springs, some dying from exhaustion had to tramp on'—then the list of lands to be traversed sufficiently explains διώλλυτο.]

485-8. The countries named are in the natural order on the march from Attica (NW., then NE.) for the return of the fugitives. Boeotia, Phokis, Doris (a small Dorian hill settlement north-west of Phokis), the Maliac gulf (the great indentation of the coast off the beak of Euboia), and Achaia (a small district south of Thessaly, between Mount Othrys and the Pagasaeon gulf).

489. No caesura: see on 251.

490. θάνον, Epic unaugmented form (see on 310). This is one of the cases where it could be written *θανον*, and the vowel elided after -οι in *πλείστοι* (prodelision): but in view of the other instances it is more probably meant to be Epic and without augment.

492. *Magnesia* is the long narrow promontory projecting S.E. from Thessaly, just N. of Euboia. *Axios* is the chief river of Macedonia flowing due South into the Thermaic gulf.

ἐς τε: the first acc. γαίαν has no prep.: the second Μακεδόνων χώραν alone has the preposition ἐς. No doubt the prep. is often felt as belonging to both: but it is important to remember that this is made much easier by the fact that the *case alone is usually sufficient to give the meaning required*, and that in the Epic dialect the prep. (really just developing out of an adverb) is often after its case, and frequently absent.

So Aesch. Eum. 692, τό τ' ἡμαρ καὶ κατ' εὐφρόνην; Soph. O. T. 734 Δελφῶν καπὸ Δαυλίας; id. ib. 761 ἀγρούς σφε πέμψαι καπὶ ποιμνίων νομάς; Ant. 1176 πατρῶας ἢ πρὸς οἰκείας χερός, &c.

493. πόρον, here 'passage,' 'ford.'

494. *Bolbe*, a large lake just N. of Chalkidike, empties into the Strymonian Gulf S. of Amphipolis. 'Bolbe's marshy reed' is poetic inversion for the prosaic 'the reedy marsh of Bolbe.' *Mount Pangaios*, just E. of the Strymon, near the famous battlefield of Philippi. The *Edones* or *Edonoi* are a Thracian tribe in the district north of Pangaios, between the Strymon and the Nestos. All these places are in the right order, on the direct coast route from Attica to the Hellespont.

498. νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ, 'thinking them of no account.' Cf.



Εὐμ. 423, ὅπου τὸ χαίρειν μηδαμοῦ νομίζεται. It is practically equivalent to 'disbelieving': the positive phrase νομίζειν θεοῦς is idiomatic for 'to believe in gods.'

500. θεοκλυτῶν, 'calling on gods.'

501. This line in its metrical character is unique. The ordinary third foot and fourth foot caesuras (one or other of which is regularly found) are both wanting. There is a caesura, but it is in the fifth foot: which foot is moreover a tribrach, always rare, and particularly in this poet. Porson rearranged the verse: κρυσταλλοπήγα διὰ πόρον στρατὸς περᾶ: Heimsoeth read κρυσταλλοπήγα διαπερᾶ πόρον στρατός. This is easy enough. The real difficulty is to explain how a verse of normal metre was corrupted into its present form, and on this the correctors offer no hint. In view of the other metrical variations, viz. the six lines without caesura (see 251), and the 'Cretic' 321, it is far more likely the verse is genuine, and the aberrations are to be attributed to the early date of the play: the poet was still trying experiments.

διὰ πόρον, 'the use of διὰ with acc. in the *literal* sense of 'through,' 'across,' is not Attic. It is common in Epic, and occurs occasionally in the Tragedians who imitate Epic usage.

503. No caesura: see 251.

505. διήκε, taken by some (Well., Blomf.) as from διήκω, 'pass through,' 'pierce,' which is possible: but on the whole it is more probably aor. of δῦέναι, 'shot through' (either intrans. or better διήκεν αὐγὰς) which makes the same general sense. So Pal., Weckl., and the scholiast, who explains it διελθεῖν ἐποίησεν.

506. MSS. read εὐτυχέι or εὐτυχῆς (the latter clearly a correction). Paley's ἡτύχαι is clearly right.

507. πνεῦμ' ἀπέρρηξεν βίον, 'broke off the breath of life,' a fine characteristic phrase, imitated thrice by Eurip., I. T. 974 βίον ἀπορρήξειν, Or. 864 πνεῦμ' ἀπορρήξαι, Tro. 750 πνεῦμ' ἀπορρήξεις σέθεν.

509. No caesura, see 251: here the heaviness of the metre is suitable to the sense, and suggestive.

510. οὐ πολλοί τινες. So Herod., who says (8. 115) that Xerxes reached the passage of the Hellespont 'with hardly a fraction of his army' (οὐδὲν μέρος ὥς εἰπεῖν). Aesch. however says nothing of the large force left with Mardonios (300,000 acc. to Herod. 8. 100).

511. ἐστιούχον γαῖαν, 'the land of their homes,' the adj. has sacred associations, as ἐστία was the centre of the worship of the household. So ἐστιούχον ἐς πόλιν (perhaps an echo of this line), Soph. Ant. 1083.

# NOTES. LINES 500-535

ὥς, poetic use for ὥστε.

515. δυσπρόνητε, 'woful,' 'ruinous.'

517. στρατοῦ, for gen. see 445.

519. See 251.

520. φαύλως ἄγαν, 'too weakly,' i. e. wrongly, untruly.

521. τῇδ' ἐκύρωσεν φάτις, 'your word hath given this sure counsel,' i. e. to pray to the gods. See 226-7.

523. φθιτοῖς, 'the dead': she means Dareios in particular, as the course of the play makes clear. Γῇ and φθιτοί are both nether powers.

524. πέλανον, 204.

525-6. Sense: 'I know indeed [t'will be, i. e. I shall utter my prayers] when the deed is done [= too late to alter the disaster] but [I shall do it] in hopes it might be better hereafter.' The ὥς is not 'that': but the same use of ὥς as with the gen. abs., lit. 'aware that the deed is done.' The structure is rather abrupt and unusual: but the sense is clear, and there is no reason to suspect it.

528. 'To confer faithfully with the Faithful,' πιστοί the name of the special Councillors who advised the king, see 2. The difficulty is that the Chorus themselves (who are here addressed) are the πιστοί. Probably the Chorus (*twelve* at this date) are naturally regarded as only representative of the larger body of πιστοί; cf. 681 ὦ πιστὰ πιστῶν.

529. This line, 'if my son come hither before I return,' has caused much difficulty, since Atossa comes back 598 while Xerxes appears first three hundred lines later at 909: and the precise caution to the Chorus seems meaningless in a drama where nothing comes of it. See Appendix for further suggestions.

531. προσθῆται κακόν, 'get some further ill.'

[Chorus, 532-97. (1) ANAPAESTS. 'Oh Zeus! thou hast destroyed the great army and plunged Susa and Agbatana in sorrow! Women rend their veils and weep: brides desert their couches to wail: we too lament (532-47) (2) FIRST STASIMON. All Asia groans: Xerxes led them forth, and lost them: the ships and Ionian hands slew them: hardly did the king escape. Utter the loud lament! Tossed by the waves, torn by the fish, they perished: the house, the bereaved parents, lament them. The rule of Persia is gone—no tribute, no reverence is paid: Rebellion's tongue is free: the Persian power lies on the bloody soil of the sea-girt isle of Aias!'] 548-597.]

535. Susa and Agbatana, the two capitals of the Great King, see 16.



## PERSAE

536. *δνοφερῶ*, 'dark,' a natural metaphor: *ἄχεος νεφέλη μέλαινα*, Il. 16. 591.

537. *καλύπτρα*, 'the veil,' was usually a flap of the *χιτῶν* or *ἱμάτιον*, and not separate: the tearing of this is mentioned as a sign of grief, Suppl. 122.

538. *κατερέικεσθαι*, 'to bruise' or 'tear,' used especially of rending garments.

541. *ἄβρόγοι*, lit. 'in luxury of sorrow,' i. e. unchecked, weak, abandonment to grief. *ἄβρός* is 'soft,' 'delicate,' 'luxurious':

543 *ἄβροχίτων* is literal, 'softly clad.'

542. *ποθέουσαι*, Epic or Ionic form, see 64.

546-7. 'And I too uplift [i. e. 'celebrate'] the truly woeful fate of those that are gone.' This is the most probable sense of *αἶρω*, as in Eur. Herakl. (321-2) *πολλῶ σ' ἐπαίνω . . . ἄρῶ*; Ar. Ran. 377 *ὅπως ἀρείς τὴν Σώτειραν*. Others take it as a sort of transference of meaning from the *πένθος* to the *μόρον*: but you can hardly say 'raise a lamentable fate,' meaning 'raise a lament for the fate.' Others suspect the passage, as not being genuine: but it is not necessary to suppose this.

*δοκίμως*: *δόκιμος* is properly 'tested,' 'approved': so the adv. means 'truly.'

552. *ἐπέσπε* (Epic word *ἐφέπω*, 38) 'ordered.' *δυσφρόνως*, 'blindly,' 'amiss': Antig. 1261 *φρενῶν δυσφρόνων*; Theb. 875 *ἰὼ δύσφρονες*.

553. *βάρης* is an Egyptian word for a freight-ship or transport, called *Αἰγυπτία βάρης*, Supp. 874. In Eur. Iph. A. 297 we find *βαρβάρους βάριδας*, 'foreign hulks,' as a contemptuous term for any ships that mean to fight the Greek ships at Aulis. *βαρίδεσσι*, Epic form: dative is instrum.

554. *τίπτε*, Epic syncopated form of *τί ποτε*, Od. 1. 225, Il. 10. 85. So Agam. 975.

*μὲν* is not answered by *δέ*, but the antithesis is all the more felt because it is not expressed, 'Why was Dareios successful [while his son has failed so disastrously]?'

It may be noticed however that this metre, common in Aeschylus, is usually strictly trochaic, while *τίπτε* | *Δᾶρεϊ-* | *-ὄς μὲν* has a spondee in the second place: and Wecklein reads accordingly here and 651, 653 the form *Δαριαῖος*. But in the absence of support for this form, and the possibility of the metre allowing *Δαρείος* here, it is better to leave it.

555. *ἀβλαβής*, after the failure of Dareios' Scythian raid in 522, the burning of Sardis (500) and Marathon (490), *ἀβλαβής*, 'untouched by disaster,' seems strangely unsuitable. We must remember however, that Dareios had thoroughly organized the Persian kingdom, had conquered Thrace and Macedonia,

and crushed the Ionic revolt: and the Chorus, in glorifying the past monarch in comparison with the present, do not adhere pedantically to the facts.

556. τόξαρχος, 'ruler of archers,' i. e. of Persians, see 85, 147, 239.

557. ἄκτωρ, lit. 'leader,' i. e. 'king,' as schol. explains.

559. λινόπτεροι κυανώπιδες, 'flaxen-winged dark-eyed ships,' in the poet's terse imaginative style. In Homer it is the *oars* which are the ship's wings (ἐρετμά . . . τὰ τε πτερὰ νηυσὶ πέλονται, Od. II. 125, &c.)—really a truer comparison: but later always the *sails* as here. 'Dark-eyed' is literal: ancient ships generally had on each bow a huge eye painted, probably from the Greek decorative instinct, combined with the natural fancy that a ship is alive, and must see ahead. So Aesch. of the Egyptian ship, Supp. 716 καὶ πρῶρα πρόσθεν ὄμμασιν βλέπουσ' ὁδόν.

[All MSS. read αἱ δ' ὁμόπτεροι, neither sense nor metre: the corruption is uncial, as Schütz saw: ΑΙΝΟΠΙ was read as ΑΙΔΟΜΟΠ, the last two letters being repetition (dittography): a brilliant and certain correction.]

562. ἐμβολαῖς, 'charges,' 'crash'; regularly used of the impact of a ship's beak on another ship.

563. 'The Ionians' hands' are the blows of the Greeks who lined the shore of Salamis, Psyttaleia, and the mainland. There were Dorians among them: but, to Persians, the Greeks were always Ἰάονες.

564. τυτθά, Epic word, meaning 'little': i. e. 'barely.' So we speak of a *narrow* escape. Neut. Adj. for adv. as in Homer.

566. ἄμ πεδιήρεις, see below, note on 572.

568. πρωτόμοιροι, 'the first to perish': M and most MSS. read πρωτόμοροι and δ' ἀλὶ δεινὰ 576. Some correct to πρωτομόροιο (Blomfield), and leave the antistrophe, reading ἀλὶ δεινᾶ: but I prefer with Hermann to read (with one Paris MS.) πρωτόμοιροι here, and δὲ δινὰ 576. The schol. reads and explains πρωτόμοροι: and the expression 'torn by the eddy' is more natural and forcible than 'by the dreadful sea.'

569. πρὸς, 'by': in place of ὑπό, with gen. of agent: poets use πρὸς, ἐκ, παρά, ἀπό, constantly for ὑπό.

570. Κυχρείας: it appears Κυχρεία was an old name for Salamis, from a hero Kychreus, son of Salamis and Poseidon. Sophokles in the lost Teukros mentions a 'Kychreian hill,' said to be 'near' (περί) Salamis (Strabo 9. 1. 9, Soph. Frag. 521, Steph. Byz. s.v. Κυχρείος).

571. The metre is defective, and the verb is missing. Various verbs are proposed, ἔρρανται, ὦλοντο, τεθνᾶσιν, &c.: I have taken Dindorf's ἔρρονσι, 'are lost.'

572. ἀμβόασον, Epic syncope (and assimilation) of the preposition (here ἀνά) whether separate or in composition, e.g. ἀμ φυτά, ἀμ βομοῖσι, ἀμφαδίην, ἀμπνυτο, &c. Tragedy is fond of these forms: ἀντρέπω, ἀμπέμπω, ἐπαντέλλω, ἐπαμβατήρ, ἀνστήσεις, ἀνδραῖω, προσαμβάσεις, δυσαγκόμιστον, besides the common ἀντολαί, and several others, all occur in Aeschylus. ἀνά is much the commonest preposition so treated: of the fifty-four instances which occur in the Tragedians (excluding κατθανεῖν, only found in syncopated form) forty-seven are in words compounded with ἀνά. In this play, see 163, 566, 572, 621, 638, 807.

βαρύ, 'loudly': the use of neut. adj. as adv. is regular in Epic.

573. οὐράνι' ἄχῃ might be, as schol. here takes it, 'high as heaven,' 'reaching to heaven,' like Suppl. 808 ἦζε δ' ὁμφὰν οὐρανίαν: but here it is better taken 'heaven-sent,' especially in view of the parallel phrase δαιμόνι' ἄχῃ in the antistrophe. Moreover, 'heaven-high' is more natural of a cry than of a grief. [οὐράνιον ἄχος, Antig. 418, is probably different 'a trouble in the sky,' see Jebb, ad loc.]

574-5. 'Prolong the sad utterance of groaning and cries.' τεῖνω might be of *intensity*, not *length*: but μακρὰν ἔτεινας (Ag. 1296), ἐτεινάτην λόγον (Cho. 510), and the still commoner ἐκτείνω (Ag. 829, 916, 1229, Eum. 201, 707), make the meaning 'prolong' more probable.

576. They are 'battered' by the 'eddy,' driving them on the rocks. For the reading see 568.

576-8. 'Are torn by the voiceless children of the undefiled [sea],' clearly meaning the fish (schol. τῶν ἰχθύων). Perhaps an echo of Od. 4. 404, of the seals νέποδες καλῆς ἀλοσύδνης, generally understood as meaning 'children of the sea-born goddess,' i.e. Amphitrite. Some actually read (in place of the MSS. ἀλί δεινά) the word ἀλοσύδνης (Naber, followed by Wecklein and Teuffel). But the schol. M clearly had no substantive agreeing with ἀμιάντου: for he explains it τῆς θαλάσσης· αὐτήν γὰρ λέγει ἀμιάντον. So τῆς ἀνθεμουργοῦ below (612) without noun, for the bee. Sophokles, Aias 1297, has ἰχθύσι ἐλλοῖς explained as 'mute fish.' So Hes. Scut. 212 ἔλλοπας ἰχθύς.

583. τὸ πᾶν δὴ κλύουσιν, 'now hear all their woe,' i.e. they lament their lost sons, but at length understand the full disaster. There is no need of Wecklein's ingenious ἀπύουσιν, which indeed is not a very natural word.

584-5. δὴν οὐκέτι, 'not now for long,' the MS. reading needs no alteration: Dindorf's θήν for δὴν is no improvement.

589. ἄζονται, 'do reverence.' The Greek contempt for these servile obeisances is often expressed, see 152.

592. ἐν φυλακαῖς, 'controlled,' lit. 'under guard.'

593-4. λέλυται . . . ἀλκᾶς, 'the people are set free to speak, now that the yoke of might is broken': the Persian nobles fear turbulence and revolt of the people, now that the power of the empire (ἀλκή is particularly *fighting* power) is crushed by Salamis. There may be also a touch of Aeschylus' fear of popular licence—see Eumen. 526 sqq., 693 sqq.

596. περικλυστά: Aesch. often uses compound adjective with *three* (instead of *two*) terminations: παναρκέτας νόσον, Cho. 70; τάν ποτ' εὐφιλήταν ἔθου, Theb. 107; περιρρύτας πόλεις, Eum. 77. So Soph. Ant. 134 ἀντιτύπα δ' ἐπὶ γᾶ; Eur. Phoen. 235 ἀθανάτας θεοῦ. The usage (like so many others in Trag.) is Epic: ἀμφιελίσση, ἀμφιρύτη, ἀντιθέη, &c.

*Enter Atossa in mourning garments without ornament, carrying libations and offerings.*

[598-622. SECOND EPEISODION. Atossa returns, and says: 'Mortals in trouble fear all things, when prosperous are too confident: I too am fearful. I bring offerings to Dareios, libations of milk, honey, wine, water, olives and flowers. While I pour them, do ye chant the songs, and call up his spirit.']

598-600. This passage is somewhat roughly and carelessly worded, and has been much emended (Weil, Hartung, Merkel, Wecklein, &c.): but there is not the least obscurity in the meaning, and the MS. reading may stand, with the slight correction of τύχης to τύχην (Weil). 'Friends, whoever hath experience of trouble, knows that when on mortals there comes a wave of trouble, one is wont to fear all things: but when the god is propitious, (he is wont) to be assured that the same god will ever speed his fortune with fair wind.'

The repetition of κακῶν . . . κακῶν and δαίμων . . . δαίμον', and the change from βροτοῖσιν to the sing., need not really raise suspicion. They are both natural usages in speech; and the latter constantly appears, e. g. Od. 4. 691 ἦ τ' ἐστὶ δίκη θείων βασιλῆων ἄλλον κ' ἐχθαίρῃσι βροτῶν ἄλλον κε φιλοίῃ; Eur. Hec. 1189 ἀνθρώποισιν οὐκ ἐχρῆν . . . τὴν γλῶσσαν ἰσχύειν πλέον, ἀλλ' εἴτε χρῆστ' ἔδρασε . . . (a sentence remarkably like ours): Arist. Nub. 988 ὅταν ὀρχεῖσθαι . . . δέον αὐτοῦς . . . ἀμελή τῆς Τριτογενείας.

604. τάνταῖα, 'the enmity': so κνωδάλων ἀνταίων, Cho. 588, 'fell monsters.'

605. παιώνιος, 'healing,' Παιών being the name of Apollo the healer. The adj. is always so used by Aesch.: Supp. 1066 χειρὶ παιωνία; Ag. 848 φαρμάκων παιωνίων; ib. 1198 πῶς ἂν ὄρκος . . . παιώνιος γένοιτο; Frag. 144 εὐχαῖς παιωνίαις. The sense, 'no healing sound' for the loud wailing, is quite satisfactory: the other sense

'not like a paean' (which some propose) would do well, but the usage is against it. The schol. clearly took it as 'healing': for he explains the phrase as *φθαρτικός*.

607. *ἄνευ τ' ὀχημάτων*: the obvious meaning seems to be that she came before (159) *with* a chariot, and fine robes. But the point really turns on what was imagined, and what was actually shown in the theatre at this date. See Introduction, § 4.

*κέλευθον τήνδ'* . . . *ἔστειλα*, lit. 'I arranged . . . this coming,' i.e. 'I came forth.' *στέλλω* is here transitive, as usual; cf. *λόγος στέλλει με*, Prom. 389; *στέλλον*, ib. 394; *στείλας στρατόν*, Pers. 176; *στέλλων στρατιάν*, Ag. 799, &c. Others take it intrans. as Sophokles (Phil. 571, 640) and Herodotos (4. 147) undoubtedly use the word; then *κέλευθον τήνδ'* would be 'on this way': but the other is more probable: *κέλευθος* (like *ὁδός*) will then be used in a slightly more abstract way—'journey' rather than 'road.'

613. 'The watery draughts of the virgin spring': the phrase is in the same ornate and stately style as the two preceding lines. Observe the Epic use of *μετά* with dat., as Hec. 355 *παρθένοις μέτα*. Offerings to the dead appear first in Odyssey (11. 27), where Odysseus pours honey, wine, milk, and water, and sprinkles meal: this is a fuller account, adding olives and flowers, though there is no mention of meal. In O. C. 477 the *χοαί* to the Eumenides (who are so far like the dead that they are *χθόνιαι*) are of honey and water only. In Iph. Taur. 159 the *χοαί* to Agamemnon are honey, milk, and wine.

614-15. The phrase is rather piled up: *παλαιᾶς ἀμπέλου γάνος* is practically in apposition with the rest.

616. *ἐν φύλλοισι θαλλούσης βίον*, the acc. is probably 'extended cognate,' where instead of the strict cognate *θάλος* is substituted the closely allied idea *βίον*. So Soph. Trach. 849 *τέγγει δακρύων ἄχραν*; Eur. I. T. 159 *χοὰς ὑδραίνειν*. We may perhaps translate it: 'Living a life luxuriant ever in leaves.'

It may however be a transitive use, as Pindar (Ol. 3. 40) has *δένδρε' ἔθαλλε χώρος*: but possibly this too is a similar extension of 'cognate' usage.

617. *ξανθήs*: the olive is commonly *γλαυκή*, 'gray-green' (the true colour of its leaves), O. C. 701; Troad. 802; I. T. 1101; but Pindar (Nem. 1. 17) speaks of *φύλλοις ἐλαιῶν χρυσεῖς*, and Vergil (Aen. 5. 309) has *flava* nectentur oliva. None of the three poets who speak of the olive as *yellow* can be wrong: and Vergil, country-bred and an exceptionally fine observer, least of all. The true explanation is given by James Henry on Aen. l. c., who says:—'the epithet *flavus* signalizes a remarkable . . . characteristic of the olive, its yellow pollen, which it sheds so copiously in the flowering season as not only to cover the leaves, trunk,



## NOTES. LINES 607-635

and branches of the tree, but even the ground and neighbouring objects *with a yellow dust*. . . . I walked for miles between rows of olives which were not only themselves yellow with this yellow dust, but had rendered . . . even the roads themselves to well-nigh the middle also yellow, as if strewn with a pale ochre powder.'

620. δαίμονα, the dead Dareios is divine: so (in the Choephoroi) the dead Agamemnon is appealed to as a power able to help.

621. ἀγκαλεῖσθε: see 572.

*The Queen passes on to the tomb of Dareios to pour the libations. She still remains on the stage, in sight of the spectators (684).*

[*Chorus*. 623-80. (1) ANAPAESTS 'Queen, pay thy offerings, and we will pray to the dead. Powers below, Earth, Hermes, Hades, send up His Shade to help!' (623-32). SECOND STASIMON. 'Does the godlike king hear my loud cries? Oh Earth and nether Powers, suffer him to rise—the greatest of the Persian dead! Aidoneus, send up our lord Dareios: he suffered no ruinous defeats: he was a wise counsellor and ruler: my lord, arise, come to the tomb's crest, with saffron sandal and royal crown! Hear our sorrows: a gloom of hell is over us, our youth is perished! O king, sore lamented, come: our proud ships are lost!' (633-80).]

624. θαλάμους ὑπὸ γῆς: ὑπό is best taken with θαλάμους, 'down to the dwelling underground.'

626. πομπούς, 'those who send': from 629 it appears that not only Hades (649) is meant, but Ge and Hermes.

631. ἄκος οἶδε πλέον, 'knows any further cure': πλέον has been much discussed, but the simplest meaning is probably 'further than *we* know.'

632. θνητῶν: needless trouble is made about this word. Dareios is no doubt called divine (δαίμων 620, ἰσοδαίμων 634, θεός 644): but as compared with Ge, Hermes, and Aidoneus, he is naturally called θνητός: and the idea clearly is that his 'mortal' interest in Persian fortunes makes him the one spirit who is likely to help.

633. μακαρίτας: the three classes called 'blessed' are the gods, the dead, and living men. μάκαρ is used of all three, but most commonly of *gods*: μακάριος, almost entirely of living men: μακαρίτης, exclusively of the dead.

635. βάρβαρα: see note on 349. βάρβαρα σαφηνῇ are outside the article and therefore properly (in Attic) predicative. The lines might be rendered, 'uttering in clear outlandish tones those diverse dread and mournful cries': the accumulation of

adjectives is notably Aeschylean, the best instance being *φοβερά παλινόρτος οἰκονόμος δολία μνήμων μῆνις τεκνόποινος* (Ag. 154-5), where there is a series of *six* successive adjectives broken only by the noun.

636-7. *αἰανής* is used by Aesch. both for 'eternal' (*αἰανῇ χρόνον*, Eum. 572) and for 'terrible,' 'grievous' (*αἰανῆς νόσος*, Eum. 479, 942). The latter is the sense here and 664.

638. *διαμβοάσω* (Dindorf's excellent correction of MSS. unmetrical *διαβοάσω*): see note on 572.

642. *μεγαυχή*, 'illustrious,' purely a word of praise.

643. *ἰόντ' αἰνέσαι*, lit. 'approve him coming,' i. e. 'suffer him to come' (here only in this sense with part.).

647. *ἄχθος*, i. e. the tomb of Dareios (clearly visible on the stage, see Introduction on the Staging, § 4).

648. 'For dear' (or 'loving') 'is the heart it hides.'

649-50. *Ἀιδωνεύς*, a later form for the Homeric *Ἀΐδης*, found here first.

651. MSS. give *δαρείον οἶον ἄνακτα δαρείαν*, the last word (or *δαρίαν*) appearing also 663 and 671. The first word *δαρείον* is clearly a correction of *δαρείαν* which has got into the text: the reading adopted is Dindorf's, which is near the traditional text, and makes sense and metre. Wecklein's *Δαριαῖος*, read by him above, 554, is also read here, 663 and 671.

652-3. The Dareios who 'never lost men in war's deadly calamities' is the same imaginary Dareios who is called *ἀβλαβής* above, 555: though of course the *πολεμόφθορος ἄτη* of Salamis was the greatest by far.

654. *θεομήτωρ*, 'divine counsellor,' an echo of the Homeric *θεόφιν μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος*, Il. 7. 366 (of king Priam), 'counsellor equal to the gods.'

656. *ἔσκειν*, Epic frequentative form of the impf. of *εἰμί*, occurs Ag. 723 (according to the excellent correction of Casaubon). Similar forms in Homer: *δύσκει*, *στάσκει*, *ἔχεσκει*, *καλέεσκει*, &c.: in Attic *κλαίεσκον*, Aesch. Fr. 312; *βάσκει*, inf. 671; *ταμιεύεσκει*, Antig. 950.

*ποδούχει*, from *ποδουχέω* (like *σκηπτοῦχος*, *πολιοῦχος*, *ράβδουχεῖν*), 'to hold the sheet,' lit. of the steersman, nautical metaphor for *guiding* or *ruling*. The word is found in the (corrupt) form *ποδοχέω*, Pollux 1. 98, and Dindorf brilliantly restored it here for *ὑπεδώκει* M, *ἐποδώκει* m, both words meaningless and the first impossible.

657. *βαλὴν*, a borrowed oriental, perhaps Semitic, word for 'King': others say a Phrygian word: so Hesych. s.v.

*ἀρχαῖος*, nom. for voc., common in poetry, as *ὦ τύμβος*, *ὦ νυμφεῖον*, Antig. 891.



659. κόρυμβον, 'top': see note, 411. ὄχθου: see 647. In Eur. Hec. 94 [where the captive queen is telling her dreams] she says ἦλθ' ὑπὲρ ἄκρας τύμβου κορυφᾶς φάντασμ' Ἀχιλέως, which almost looks like an imitation.

660. εὔμαρις, a Persian shoe, according to Pollux (7. 90) worn by men and women, probably like the women's Περιρικαί (Arist. Nub. 151) covering the whole foot, whereas the Greek shoes were soles with thongs wound round the ankles. κροκόβαπτον: the saffron dye on dress was *royal* (Ag. 239) or worn by *gods* (the πέπλος of Athena was 'saffron-dyed,' Eur. Hec. 468). [Hesych. derives εὔμαρις from the Greek εὐμάρης, as an 'easy' shoe to walk in: unfortunately the *a* is long as this line shows and Orest. 1370 βαρβάροις εὐμάρισιν.]

662. φάλαρον τιάρας. The tiara was the Persian royal cap or crown, which Xenophon tells us was of a special high form: βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἔξεστιν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν (Anab. 2. 5. 23). It was apparently a conical upright head-dress somewhat resembling a mitre. φάλαρον is a disputed word: elsewhere always plural, and usually of 'trappings' of horses. In Il. 16. 106 Aias' helmet is hit on the 'well-wrought φάλαρα' (possibly shining metal projections of some sort). Perhaps the safest translation is 'adornments': or here 'the peak' of the royal tiara.

πιφαύσκων, 'showing,' really reduplicated from stem φαφ (in φάος, φαίθων, &c.) meaning 'bring to light.'

663. βάσκ', Epic: βάσκ' ἔθι (Il. 2. 8): the *iterative* sense lost, as it is in θνήσκω, θρώσκω: see 656.

ἀκακε, 'innocent of ill,' 'beneficent': word used by Demosthenes and Plato: it recurs below in a bye-form ἀκάκας, 855.

664. αἰανῇ, v. 636.

666. δέσποτα δεσποτᾶν, 'lord of lords,' a natural address to the Great King. If we retain the MSS. δέσποτα δεσπότου, it can only be translated by stopping off δέσποτα with a comma, and taking ἄχη to govern δεσπότου, 'the strange and grievous woes, o lord, of our lord,' a very harsh arrangement. Dindorf's correction δεσποτᾶν is certainly best.

667. ἀχλὺς, Epic word, of the 'Darkness' of death, common of slain men, κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυντ' ἀχλὺς (Il. 16. 344, &c.), or when gods send ἀχλὺς to prevent men seeing, as Aineias (Il. 20. 341, &c.).

Aesch. uses it of the Darkness of disaster, here and Eum. 379. 'The darkness of Styx (river of Hades) floats over us' (ἐπὶ . . . πεπόταται Epic tmesis, so 670).

669. νεολαία (-λα-ός), collective word, 'the youth'; it is a Doric word found also Suppl. 687, and Theokr. 18. 24.

675-6. Corrupt. The metre is not certain, as it is not anti-

strophic. The word *δυνάτα*, taken by schol. as a form of *δυνάστα* (i. e. as voc. of *δυνάτης*, 'prince'), is otherwise unknown. The suggestion given in crit. not. 'how can it be, these twofold crushing lamentable errors?' (*ἀμάρτια* euphemism for 'disasters') would be fairly near the text: but no convincing emendation has been given, or perhaps is possible. The 'twofold' loss is that of the army and the ships.

678-9. The heavy effect of six consecutive spondees is intentional. (We have in Ar. Ran. 372 sqq. a march of seventy-seven long syllables only broken by one anapaest in the last line.) *τρίσκαλμοι*, lit. 'three-benched,' i. e. with three *tiers* of oars; triremes.

680. *vâes āvâes*: Aesch. is fond of this form of expression, *ἀπολιν πολιν* Eum. 457, *νόμος ἀνομος* Ag. 1142, &c.

*The ghost of Dareios rises from the sepulchre, with royal robes, high-peaked tiara, and saffron-dyed buskins. The queen stands silent by.*

[681-851. THIRD EPEISODION. Dareios' ghost speaks: 'what is your grief? the queen is near, you summon me with cries: 'twas hard to escape, but I have come: speak, my time is short' (681-93). The Chorus fear to speak: ghost asks the queen. She answers briefly. 'The empire lies in ruin.' In quick question and answer he learns of the loss of army and fleet, and the safety of Xerxes. Dareios cries, 'The oracle is fulfilled: Xerxes with reckless boldness has brought all to pass: He has bridged the Hellespont and angered the gods.' Atossa replies, 'it was the taunts of sloth that roused him.' Dareios replies by a sketch of the Persian history, showing this is the worst of all their disasters: and in a dialogue with the Chorus reveals that few have returned, that a select force is left behind, for whom worse ills remain, to befall them at Plataia. He warns against pride, bids Atossa meet Xerxes, and disappears. Atossa obeys, and departs.]

681. *πιστὰ πιστῶν*, 'faithful of the Faithful,' just as we say 'a man of men': such phrases are not in *form* superlative, but practically equivalent, meaning 'specially faithful,' 'a specially superior man,' &c. So Soph. O. T. 465 *ἄρρητ' ἀρρήτων*, O. C. 1238 *κακὰ κακῶν*: on the other hand *ἔσχατ' ἐσχάτων* is a true superlative and therefore not really parallel, though often so quoted.

683. *στένει, κέκοπται, καὶ χαράσσεται πέδον*: the line has occasioned difficulty, but there can be little doubt that *πόλις* is the subject of *στένει* and *κέκοπται*, and that *κέκοπται* is perf. of *κόπτεσθαι*, 'to wail' or 'beat the breast': *χαράσσεται πέδον*, 'her floor is trampled,' will then refer to the Chorus' wailing dances

which have just ceased. Translate: 'She groans, she hath beaten the breast; her floor is trampled.'

685. ἐδεξάμην, the 'momentary' aorist, of an act *just* done, where we use the present. So ἤρουν τόδ'; 'do you ask?' Eur. El. 275; ἔγνων, 'you guess right' Orest. 1131; ἐδεξάμην τὸ ῥήθην, 'I accept' . . . Soph. El. 668, &c.: see also below 973.

687. ψυχαγωγός, 'spirit-raising.' Aesch. wrote a play called Ψυχαγωγοί, of which one fragment shows that it treated the Odyssey tale of spirit-raising (Od. 11). There too the summoning was by libations, prayers, and the blood of victims (11. 24-50).

ὀρθιάζοντες, 'crying aloud': so ἐπορθιάζω 1050.

689. ἄλλως τε πάντως χοί, especially *since* the nether gods, &c., where the causal conjunction is by a natural looseness of expression omitted. Literally it is 'The way is hard, both on all grounds, and [chiefly since] the gods, &c.' Exactly the same turn of phrase is found, Eum. 473 ἄλλως τε καὶ σὺ μὲν κατηρτυκῶς . . . προσῆλθες, meaning 'specially *since* you, &c.'

689-90. 'The nether gods are more skilled to seize than to let go,' a grim piece of irony.

691. ἐνδυναστεύσας, 'prevailing.' So Agamemnon is 'prince of the mightiest tyrants under earth,' Cho. 358.

692. χρόνου, gen. respect, lit. 'in respect of time,' i.e. 'that I be not blamed for lingering,' according to the universal belief that ghosts have to return without delay.

694. σέβομαι, 'I feel awe,' i.e. 'I fear to look on thee,' &c. The word is not usually (though quite naturally) constructed with inf.: but cf. Plato, Laws, 798 B πᾶσα ἡ ψυχὴ σέβεται καὶ φοβεῖται τό τι κινεῖν, though τό makes the parallel not exact.

695. ἀντία φάσθαι, 'to speak *before*' a person, Od. 15. 377 ἀντία δεσποίνης φάσθαι; this passage is conclusive against taking ἀντία as 'unpleasant words,' 'words that will vex thee,' which might otherwise perhaps stand. So below 701.

696. περὶ τάρβει, 'in fear': so περὶ φόβῳ, Cho. 35; περὶ δείματι, Pind. Pyth. 5. 78; περὶ τιμᾷ, id. ib. 2. 110.

698. μακιστήρα, the meaning is clearly 'lengthy,' 'tedious' (μακρός, μῆκος): but the form is strange, for the verb is μηκύνω, not μηκίζω. Aesch. is fond of these *agent*-forms with inanimate things: it is part of that tendency to personify which marks his picturesque and imaginative style. So καρανιστήρες δίκαι (Eum. 186), ποδιστήρες πέπλοι (Cho. 986), μαστικτήρα λόγον (Supp. 466).

699. τὴν ἐμὴν αἰδῶ, 'reverent fear of *me*': like σὸς πόθος, 'longing for you,' Od. 11. 202; θρήνος οὔμος, Prom. 390; ἐμὴν χάριν, 1046 infra; ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ ἐμῇ, Plat. Apol. 20 E.

700. διέμαι: a Homeric word, generally 'to chase' (run after),

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twice used for to 'fly' (run *away*), *σταθμοῖο δίσθαι* (Il. 12. 304), *πεδίοιο δύνται* (id. 23. 475). Here it means 'I shun': it is apparently distinct from *δφίε*, 'he feared' (*δέδφια*, *ἔδφεισα*, &c.), which have digamma.

703. *ἀνθίσταται*, 'stands before,' with gen.: like *ἀντέχειν χεῖρα κρατός*, O. C. 1651.

706. *ἀνθρώπεια*, 'the woes that belong to man.'

708. *ὁ μᾶσσων* . . . *πρόσω*, slightly artificial and pleonastic: 'if length of days stretch far': *μᾶσσων*, really proleptic.

710. *ὥς*, 'how.' It is better to take it so, and put full stop at *βάθος*: otherwise, if *ὥς* be taken as 'since,' the *γάρ* of 713 is less natural.

712. *θανόντα*, closely with *πρὶν ἰδεῖν*, 'dead, before seeing.'

715. *σκηπτός*, 'gust' or 'storm,' by an obvious and natural metaphor.

717. *παίδων*: Herod. (3. 88) mentions four wives of Dareios, and (7. 2) seven children.

718. *θούριος*: Epic epithet of Ares, and heroic warriors: 'bold,' 'mighty.'

719. *ἐμώρηνεν*, 'brought to folly,' i. e. 'wrecked.'

720. The 'double force' was by land and sea, the army and the fleet.

722. 'Helle's passage' is Hellespont. See note on 70.

723. *Βόσπορον*, 'Cattle-ford,' was the name of at least three straits, (1) the *straits of Kaffa*, connecting the Sea of Asov with Euxine (Kimmerian Bosporos): this is connected with the story of Io, Aesch. Prom. 733: (2) the *Thracian Bosporos*, connecting the Propontis with the Euxine, the scene of Dareios' boat-bridge when he invaded Scythia (Herod. 4. 85): and (3) the *Hellespont*, connecting Propontis with the Aegean. The latter is of course the one here referred to, and also in *Βοσπορίων ποταμῶν*, Aias 884.

724. *ξυνάψασθαι*, 'to take part in,' 'help in,' like *ξυλλαβέσθαι*, *ξυνάρασθαι*, &c., has the partitive gen. The verb recurs 742. Atossa darkly hints that the gods were leading Xerxes to his ruin: Dareios speaks plainer.

725. The subject to *φρονεῖν* is clearly Xerxes: but he shrinks from mentioning the name.

726. *ὥς* is causal: 'Ay, for we can see the end,—what ruin he wrought.'

727. *πράξασιν*, 'having fared': a mild word.

730. *ὥς* is for *ὥστε*, as often in Tragg. *πρὸς τὰδ*, 'therefore,' grammatically comes *after* *ὥς*. The MSS. *στένει* is certainly wrong: Paley rightly suggested *στένειν*.

731. 'Ah for the goodly aid and defence of our host!' i. e.

alas for the brave soldiers who have perished ! ὦ πόποι, 'Out, alas !' the usual Epic exclamation.

732. οὐδέ τις γέρων, 'nor is any old man [among them],' i. e. 'the whole youth has perished': πάντες νέοι, as the schol. rightly says. There is no need for emendation.

733. μέλεος, i. e. Xerxes.

734. μονάδα . . . ἔρημον, 'alone' . . . 'left desolate,' are natural exaggerations : 'with but a handful,' he adds.

735. ποῖ (not ποῦ), idiomatically with τελευτᾶν, implying movement. Cf. Supp. 603, ποῖ κεκύρωται τέλος ; Cho. 528, ποῖ τελευτᾶ . . . λόγος ; ib. 1075, ποῖ δῆτα κρανεῖ, ποῖ καταλίξει . . . μένος ἄτης ; cf. also below 787.

736. γαῖν, a beautiful and certain emendation of Askew for MSS. ἐν, ε and αι being regularly confused in MSS., while γ easily disappears when (as here) it comes next the very similar letter ν, which in MSS. has a tail below the line like μ.

738. στάσις, 'dispute.'

739. χρησμών πράξις, 'fulfilment of the oracles': Herod. mentions an oracle of 'Bakis' foretelling the victory of Salamis (8. 77): and two oracles about the fate of Persians when Mardonios was left in Boiotia (9. 42, 43).

741. The emphasis is on διὰ μακροῦ χρόνου, as the order (and general sense) shows. ἤχουν, often, as here, of confident expectation or hope, as well as of confident speech.

742. συνάπτεται : see 724.

745. ἱρόν, 'sacred' to Poseidon, 750 : hence called ῥόον θεοῦ, 746.

747. μετερρύθμιζε, 'strove to change,' with perhaps a notion of *correcting*, as in Prom. 243, ὦδ' ἐρρύθμισμαι, 'thus am I chastened.'

748. περιβαλὼν, i. e. τὸν πόρον, 'having bound him with hampered fetters.' περιβάλλω (like *circumdo*) takes both constructions, περιβάλλειν δεσμούς δούλῳ, and περιβάλλειν δεσμοῖς δοῦλον. So Cho. 575-6, νεκρὸν θήσω . . . περιβαλὼν χαλκεύματι.

749. δέ : misplaced.

οὐκ εὐβουλία, euphemism, really meaning 'in his folly.'

751. πλούτου πόνος, lit. 'toil of wealth,' i. e. 'toil-won wealth.' So Cho. 137 ἐν τοῖσι σοῖς πόνοισι χλίουσιν μέγα ; Eur. Ion 1088 ἄλλων πόνον εἰσπεσών.

745-52. The whole of this passage is interesting, if compared with Herodotos' account (7. 35) of the chaining of the Hellespont, written towards the end of the 5th century, some sixty years later than the Persae. The bridge soon after the construction was broken by a storm. What Xerxes did, Herodotos tells as follows : 'Then Xerxes . . . was exceedingly angry : and bade

them scourge the Hellespont with 300 lashes and let down a pair of fetters into the sea. I have heard also that he sent men to brand the Hellespont. He bade them say, while beating it, these barbarian and infatuated (ἀτάσθαλα) words: "Thou bitter water, thy master lays this punishment on thee, since thou didst wrong him, having suffered no harm from him: and Xerxes the king will pass over thee whether thou wilt or no!"

It is clear that in Aeschylus the 'chains' (745), the 'yoke' (72), the 'rivetted pathway' (71), and the 'hammer-forged fetters' (747) are only picturesque and figurative expressions for the *bridge of boats itself*. This is plain from the first mention (71), 'casting on the sea's neck as a yoke the rivetted pathway,' where the figurative character of the phrase is clear and explicit. The popular fancy developed (in Asia or Europe) the childish tales of the scourging, branding, and material fetters. If Xerxes had done any of these things, Aeschylus, writing eight years after the event, would have heard of it, and certainly would have made the most of this preposterous infatuation. Particularly noticeable is it that of the abusive speech to the Hellespont the poet says nothing, though in his hands this would have been apt and fertile material. The only words that even the least resemble any part of Herodotus' story are πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις (747): and there the whole sentence shows undeniably that they are *the chains which bind the boats* into a κέλευθος for the army. And even this is a poetic exaggeration: for, as Herod. himself tells us, the ropes were of flax and papyrus—as of course ropes must have been (7. 36).

755. ξὺν αἰχμῇ, common poetic use for dat. instr. alone. So Soph. O. T. 17 σὺν γῆρα βαρεῖς; O. C. 1663 σὺν νόσοις ἀλγεινός; cf. Verg. Aen. 6. 359, madida cum veste gravatum.

756. ἐνδον αἰχμάζειν, 'fights—at home,' where the point of the phrase consists in the irony of the *contradiction in terms*; a sort of effective oxymoron. Exactly so (Il. 5. 253) ἀλυσκάζοιτι μάχεσθαι, 'to fight shirking' = 'to shirk the fight.'

759. σφιν: probably here dat. sing., as the scholiast says. So Oid. Kol. 1490, where Prof. Jebb has discussed the point. He quotes Hom. Hymn. 19. 19, and 30. 9, and Pind. P. 9. 116; none of these instance are *conclusive*, but in all the *sing.* is more *natural*. The same is true here.

760. ἐξεκείνωσεν, 'emptied,' 'made desolate.' The form is Ionic, which dialect regularly has κεινός for κενός. The Ionic forms are numerous in this play: how much is due to the *early date* of the play (the older Attic was closely allied to Ionic), how much to the deliberate choice of the poet, to use Ionic in dealing with a Persian story, is not certain. See note on 19.



## NOTES. LINES 755-777

762. οὔτε, Epic rel. for Attic οὐ, οὐπερ, or οὔτου.

763. μηλοτρόφου, for ο lengthened before -τρ- cf. ἀποτροπήν 217.

765 sqq. : on the list of Persian kings see Appendix.

ἡγεμῶν στρατοῦ : the *king* in tragedy is by a regular convention the στρατηγός, στρατηλάτης, ταγός, ἡγεμῶν—all military words : and the people στρατός.

766. τόδ' ἔργον, i. e. the establishment of the single empire.

767. 'For wisdom ruled his spirit' ; he is not named, but the schol. says *Artaphrenes*, and the phrase is supposed by some to be a reference to the name. See Appendix, § 1.

ῥακοστρόφουν. I have given Porson's emendation : MSS. read the Ionic unaugmented form ; see note on 19.

769. Kyros 'made peace for all his friends' by ending the long struggle (for a hundred years) between Medes and Persians, and establishing the new Persian kingdom. So Xenophon relates the dying words of Kyros : 'I saw my friends made happy by my aid, and my enemies subdued' (Kyrop. 8. 7. 7).

770. Λυδῶν, referring to the struggle with Kroisos, king of Lydia (Herod. 1. 73-92).

772. ὥς εὐφρων ἔφν, lit. 'how gracious he was to us,' i. e. 'such favour he showed us.' The construction is Epic (and common in Tragg. also), e. g. χόλος λάβεν, οἶον ἄκουσεν (Il. 6. 166), αἵματος εἰς ἀγαθοῖο . . . οἱ ἀγορεύεις (Od. 4. 611), φὰν δέ τιν' ἀθανάτων . . . κατελθέμεν, ὥς ἐλέλιχθεν (Il. 6. 108). The exclamatory or relative sentence gives in reality the *reason* for the statement in the principal clause : so that 'how gracious he was' becomes equivalent to 'because he was so gracious.'

774. Μάρδος is no doubt meant for the Magian pretender whom Herod. calls Smerdis ; and this explains why he is here called αἰσχύνη πάτρα, &c. Possibly the corrector of M is right in reading Μάρδης (as he must have meant by his ισ written over σσ) : but I have kept the MS. form, as there is no certainty about Aesch.'s spelling of these names.

775. Herodotos' story is that six Persians, suspecting that Smerdis was a pretender, conspired to kill him : that Dareios joined them, became their boldest and most active member, and their leader, and carried out the plot successfully. Another of the seven was Intaphernes, who doubtless represents the same man (in the story) as Aeschylus calls Artaphrenes. (See Appendix, § 1.)

776. ἐν δόμοις. The seven men boldly passed the guards into the palace (Herod. 3. 77) and slew the Magians.

777. χρέος, lit. 'requirement,' so here 'office,' 'duty.'

ξὺν ἀνδράσιν φίλοισιν, clearly the other six conspirators.



778. This line is condemned by the schol. on the ground that Dareios succeeded to the throne after the suppression of the Magians. It is obviously impossible that Aesch. wrote it here, since Ἀρταφρένης could not recur so soon after 776; it does not suit any known version of the story: and Μάραφης occurs nowhere else. It looks more like a duplication (with a different or corrupted name Μάραφης) of the previous passage 774-6, under the mistaken idea that 'Artaphrenes' succeeded 'Maraphis.'

779. πάλου, 'lot.' Herodotos' story is that the seven Persians after disposing of Smerdis had trouble to settle which should rule: and decided that the throne should go to the one whose horse first neighed at sunrise: that Dareios, with aid of his groom, contrived that his horse should neigh, and so got the kingdom (Herod. 3. 85).

We cannot say if this was Aeschylos' version, given here vaguely (as it would be) for dignity and brevity: but πάλος suits some such (apparently) chance settlement in Dareios' favour.

τοῦπερ, Epic relative τοῦ, as often.

780. πολλά: Dareios made expeditions against Samos (Herod. 3. 139), Babylon (3. 150), Scythians (4. 1), Thrace and Macedonia (4. 114), the Ionians (5. 28 sqq.), Egypt (7. 1), and finally Greece—the war which ended at Marathon.

781. 'But no ill so dire did I bring on the city': the painfully chastened and inadequate boast of Dareios is a cruel satire on the part of the Athenian poet. So again below 786.

782. MSS. have νέος ἔων νέα φρονεῖ. It is *conceivable* that Aesch. wrote here the Ionic form ἔων, on the principle explained on 19. But it is perhaps on the whole more likely that it was a corruption perhaps due to accidental inversion of ὦν νέος, so as to read νέος ὦν.

νέα φρονεῖ is also unusual, as the short α is lengthened before -φρ- in *another* word. There are many instances of the lengthening before τρ-, πρ-, κλ-, πλ- in the *same* word, see note on 217. On the whole, however, there seems no sufficient reason to change the MS. order. The meaning is 'hath young thoughts,' i. e. *rash* ones.

785-6 clearly means 'all our losses *put together* do not equal Xerxes' one': in the same spirit as 781.

ἡμεῖς means the line of kings.

787. τί οὖν. This hiatus the earlier edd. correct here and elsewhere. But MSS. give τί οὖν, Theb. 208, 704, Eum. 902; τι Αἰδου, Ag. 1115; τί εἶπας, Soph. Trach. 1203; so in comedy, τί οὖν, Ach. 358; τί ἐχρήν, 540; and probably the licence with τί was allowed exceptionally, particularly in colloquial phrases like

τί οὖν; τί εἶπας; The non-elision of final short iota in datives shows that to the Greek ear it seemed different from other vowels.

788. For ποῖ with τελευτήν cf. 735, where the phrase is somewhat similar. 'Whither dost thou lead the end of thy words?' elaborate and stately for 'what is your purpose in these words?' a gentle reminder that they want *advice on the present crisis*, and not Persian history.

ἐκ τούτων: idiomatic: we say 'in this case.'

790. τόπον: so χθονὸς πᾶς τόπος, Eum. 249.

791. The construction is a double conditional, 'if you should not march . . ., not even though the Persian host be larger,' i.e. εἰ . . . Μηδικὸν dependent on εἰ . . . τόπον. εἰ (and any relative word) are often found in the poets with subj., while in Attic prose they require to be compounded with ἄν. The use is Epic. Cf. εἰ κραυγῇ πρᾶγμα, Suppl. 92; εἰ προδῶ, Eum. 234; ὅς νέος πέσῃ, Soph. O. C. 395.

As to the change στρατεύουσθ' . . . ἦ, it is quite common even in prose to find this break of sequence.

794. The really rich lands in Greece are a few small plains: Attica in particular is poor soil.

795. 'A picked force, well-appointed, shall we send forth.'

799. περᾶ, 'is crossing': as the messenger described, 508-11, saying, ἤκουσιν ἐκφυγόντες, 'they have come.'

801. θεσφάτοισιν: see note on oracles 739.

802. οὐ τὰ μέν, τὰ δ' οὐ, 'not some, without the rest,' idiomatic expression for 'one and all': Herod. 1. 139 τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ τὰ μέν, τὰ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως: Plato, Laws 797 D ἐν ὧς ἕπος εἰπὺν οὐ τοῖς μέν τοῖς δ' οὐ ('I may almost say in every single case').

804-6. After Salamis Xerxes went back in terror, leaving Mardonios with a select force in Boiotia (Herod. 8. 100-7).

805. Ἀσωπός, river of Boiotia, flowing N. of Plataia, just S. of Thebes and Oropus, due east into the straits of Euboia, forming latterly the boundary of Boiotia and Attica.

806. πίασμα, 'enrichment.'

807. ἐπαμμένει: for syncope of prep. see note 572. As regards the prophecy, Dareios is darkly hinting at the battle of Plataiai, next year B. C. 479.

809. θεῶν βρέτη: as at Abai the Persians burnt the temple of Apollo, Herod. 8. 33, at Potidaia, temple of Poseidon (id. ib. 129), and especially all the temples on Akropolis of Athens (id. ib. 53), and even Delphoi (id. 9. 42).

811. Nearly the same line, of the Greeks at Troy, Ag. 527.

815. MSS. read κρηπὶς ὑπεστὶν ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἐκπαιδεύεται, of which no sense can be made. I have adopted Housman's brilliant

emendation κρηνὶς ἀπέσβηκ', and Schütz's ἐκπιδύεται, making a fine sense, 'Not yet is the spring of sorrow dried, but still wells forth,' a thoroughly Aeschylean line. [κρηνὶς is not known: but if this is felt to be an objection, it would be easy to read κρήνη κατέσβηκ', the latter a characteristic Aeschylean word: κλαυμάτων πηγαὶ κατεσβήκασιν, Ag. 888; ἔστιν θάλασσα, τίς δέ νυν κατασβέσει; Ag. 958. So Sept. 584.]

816. πέλανος: see 204: 'So vast an outpouring shall there be of shed blood upon the land of the Plataians.'

817. Δωρίδος. The army of Greeks at Plataia was mainly Dorian, the Athenian force being not quite one fourth of the whole.

818. θῖνες νεκρῶν δέ: the particle δέ is properly in the *second* place in the sentence: but in the poets, especially Aeschylos, is very often found in the *third*, and not unfrequently even in the *fourth*. But the cases must be sorted. In the most *closely-bound* phrases, i. e. preposition and word governed, or article and word agreeing, the use is so common as to be properly called normal. Thus πρὸ πάντων δέ, σὺν τύχῃ δέ, ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δέ, ταῖς σαῖς δέ, ὁ κόμπος δ', τὸ πᾶν δέ, are all Aeschylean instances, and there are 55 of this kind. Next to these in frequency come phrases in various forms, and various shades of close relation, but *more separable*: e. g. *gen. abs.*, πολλῶν παρόντων δ' (Pers. 330); *part. or adj. in agreement*, ποίου χρόνου δέ, σθένουσα λαμπὰς δ' (Ag. 278, 296); *two nouns related*, κρόκου βαφὰς δέ (Ag. 239), πολλῶν πατησμών δ' (Ag. 963). In this line the case belongs to the latter class.

819. ἄφωνα, cognate acc. 'shall give silent warning.'

820. ὑπέρφει, from stem φυ-, lit. 'overgrown,' so 'over-highly,' 'over-proudly,' μέγα φρονεῖν being common for 'to be proud.'

821. 'The flower of Pride brings forth the ripe fruit of woe,' a fine Aeschylean picturesque γνώμη, like the magnificent line in Theb. (601), ἄτης ἄρουρα θάνατον ἐκκαρπίζεται.

825. δαίμονα, 'fortune' as often.

828. εὐθυνος, 'a chastener,' from εὐθύνω, 'to correct.' [The word has also another more special sense, 'a scrutineer' or 'auditor,' an official employed to test the accounts of magistrates. Some imagine the use here to include a metaphorical reference to this εὐθυνος: but the more general sense suits better: and so the scholiast, who says, τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων εὐθυνος, δικαστής.]

829. κεχρημένον: MSS. give κεχρημένοι, which could only mean that *the Chorus* 'were in need of prudence,' whereas the ghost clearly means *Xerxes*: moreover κεχρημένος, 'needing,' is only used with gen. A later schol. recognizes a variant κεχρημένον, which Schütz first adopted here, though both took it *masculine*,

agreeing with Xerxes. It makes far better sense to take it *neuter acc.* (impersonal absolute, like the common *εἰρημένον*, 'it having been stated'), from *χράω*, meaning 'when it had been ordered' by the god. *χράω* is regularly used of the god's oracles or orders; and Thuc. (3. 96) and Pindar (O. 2. 72) have *χρησθέν*, in this sense, used absolute.

The whole sense will then be: 'Now therefore, as he (Xerxes) has been warned to be prudent, admonish him, &c.' Cf. the very similar phrase and structure, Ag. 1619-20 *διδύσκεσθαι βαρὺ τῷ τηλικούτῳ, σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένον*, the last word being also acc. absol. *neüter*.

The 'warnings' are of course those of the oracles referred to 740, 801, above.

831. *θεοβλαβέω* (from *θεοβλαβής*), 'to offend the gods.'

834. MSS. read *πάντα*, which will not construe: far the best correction is Canter's *παντί*, agreeing with *σώματι*. It is rather far from its noun: but that is just the reason why it has been corrupted. *λακίδες* means 'rendings' or 'rags,' and *στημορραγεῖν* (a word only found here, and doubtless formed by the poet) 'to be torn to tatters': so the phrase is bold and pleonastic, but effective, after his manner. We must paraphrase: 'From grief at his woes, all about his limbs the fine raiment is rent to shreds.'

840. *πρέσβεις*, 'elders': but in prose the plural always means ambassadors.

841. *καθ' ἡμέραν*, 'each day': '*carpe diem*' is his advice: 'for in death there is no more pleasure': a futile maxim, contemptuously put in the mouth of a dead tyrant.

842. *ὠφελεῖν* with dat. is rare: *ὠφελῶν ἐμοί*, Prom. 344; *τοῖς θανούσιν ὠφελεῖν*, Ant. 560; *τοῖς φίλοις ὠφελεῖν*, Eur. Or. 665; *φίλοις ὠφελεῖν*, Ar. Av. 419. In Attic prose it always has accus.

*The ghost of Dareios disappears from the stage.*

845. *ὦ δαῖμον*, 'o fate,' a vague appeal to the powers, as 472, 515.

847. In prose we should require *τῶν παιδὸς ἀμφὶ σώματι ἐσθημάτων*. The omission of the article is in the Epic style.

That the queen should think the ragged state of Xerxes' dress the *worst of the calamity*, is another satire of the Athenian poet on the ways of Oriental royalties.

850. M reads *ἐμῷ παιδί*, quite unmetrical: recc. read *παῖδ' ἐμῷ*, where the elision of dative -i is quite opposed to the practice of Tragedy (see Jebb, O. K. 1435. appendix, where all the alleged instances of elision are discussed), though common in

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Epic (see 914). Burges' *παιδί μου* is the best correction: but from the order *ἐμῷ παιδί* in M it may be argued that *ἐμῷ* is a note of explanation absorbed into the text (as so often happens), and the *παῖδ' ἐμῷ* of recc. a mere correction. If this view be taken, Wecklein's *παιδί δῆ* is possible. But the transposition in M may be accidental.

*Atossa goes off into the palace.*

[852-908. THIRD STASIMON. 'Happy was our lot when Dareios the invincible was king! glorious armies were ours, successful assaults: and prosperous return. What cities he took, without crossing Halys, or marching to foreign lands! the cities by Hellespont, Strymon, Propontis, Euxine: islands off the coast, the Kyklades, the mid-channel isles—from Lesbos to far Kypros, and lastly the wealthy cities of Ionia! Now the gods have changed our fortune: we are laid low by our fleet's disaster.']

853. *πολισσονόμου βιοτᾶς*, 'our country's life': 'the great and prosperous rule of our state,' as he calls it.

854. *γηραιός*: the *-αι-* is short, as *δειλαῖα*, Eur. Supp. 279; *δειλαῖος*, Ar. Eq. 139.

855. *ἀκάκας*, another form (to suit the metre) of *ἄκακος*, 663.

859-60. *νομίσματα* . . . *ἐπέυθυνον* is the MS. reading, where the change of *person* in the verb, and the word *νομίσματα* (quite irreconcilable with the adj. *πύργινα*) are both impossible. I take the corrections *πολίσματα* . . . *ἐπέρθομεν*, excellent sense, and suitable to the context: translate—'and all fenced cities we sacked.'

863. A dactyl is lost: *ἀνέρας* (Wecklein) is the best conjecture. A noun, not an adjective, is almost necessarily required.

864. *ὅσας*, 'what cities he took!' Exclamatory, as schol. takes it. Otherwise, if *ὅσας* be taken *relative*, 'and all the cities *which* he took . . .', we might with some editors read (for *αἱ*) *αἱ κατὰ* in 871, and then *ἅμιον* might be the verb to *the whole*: but in so long a sentence, the exclamatory *ὅσας* is better: especially as the sentence occupies the strophe, and runs over into the antistrophe.

865-6. *Halys* is the largest river of Asia Minor, flowing first SW. parallel to the great Taurus range, then curving round and discharging into the Euxine, East of Sinope. It formed the frontier between Paphlagonia and Pontus: and early in the sixth century by the eastward extension of Lydia under Kroisos, and the westward extension of the Median kingdom under Kyaxares, the Halys became the boundary between Media and

Lydia, afterwards united by Kyros in one vast empire from the Indus to the Aegean.

The phrase here 'not crossing the Halys' water nor leaving his home' is clearly meant in the Chorus' mouth as praise of Dareios for his military successes within the limits of his kingdom (or what he claimed as his kingdom), and his prudent avoidance of personal danger in foreign expeditions outside these limits. 'Crossing the Halys' may seem an odd phrase for foreign expedition, when the Persian empire reached from Thrace to the Indus: but it was really not an unnatural expression, as the Halys *was* roughly the boundary of the Graecized Asia Minor, and to cross it was not only the necessary preliminary to any western conquest, but was itself a venture into the less secure parts of his empire. There may also be an allusion to the famous oracle of Delphi to Kroisos, *Κροῖσος Ἄλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν διαλύσει* (referred to in Herod. i. 91). The sneer of Aeschylus (for of course it is a sneer to Athenian ears) is based on Dareios' vicarious invasions of Thrace by Megabazos and Otanes, and of Greece by Mardonios, Datis and Artaphernes, &c.: but the poet ignores the Scythian war, the most adventurous of all, where Dareios in person led his troops into unknown lands beyond the Danube.

868-70. 'Such [πόλεις] as those Acheloian dwellings of the Strymonian water that neighbour the Thracian homes.' The question is, what are the *Στρυμονίου πελάγους Ἀχελωῖδες*? Some take it of the *islands* Lemnos, Imbros, &c. which Otanes conquered for Dareios (Herod. 5. 26): but these are not 'neighbours' to Thrace, and islands are not mentioned till the next stanza. Others (following Weil) take 'the Strymonian sea' to refer to the large lake Prasias formed by the Strymon near its mouth: and this suits better Ἀχελωῖδες, 'water'-cities, especially as the word Acheloos is always used of *fresh* water. The reference will then be to the Paeonian lake-dwellers on Prasias, of whom Herod. (5. 16) gives a very interesting account, especially recording that Megabazos conquered this tribe and sent them over to Asia (5. 17). This view is also confirmed by λίμνας ἔκτοθεν, 'outside the lake,' clearly an antithesis to the Ἀχελωῖδες, living *in* the lake: and suits far better πάροιχοι Θρηκίων ἐπαύλων, as the Paeonians bordered on the west frontier of Thrace.

872. ἐληλαμένοι περί πύργον (tmesis for περιεληλαμένοι πύργον see 457), 'girt round with a rampart': the construction like δέλτος ἐγγεγραμμένη συνθήματ', Soph. Trach. 157; ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν, Thuc. i. 126; παῖδας ἐστιγμένους ἀνθέμιον ('with flower-pattern tattooed on them'), Xen. Anab. 5. 4. 32, &c.

The essential character of this constr. is that the *indirect*



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*object* of the Active construction (e. g. ἐγγράφειν συνθήματα δέλτω) becomes the *subject* of the Passive phrase, while the accusative is carried unchanged into the new form. The Roman poets imitate: pedes *traiectus lora* tumentes, Verg. Aen. 2. 273; flores *inscripti nomina* regum, id. Ecl. 3. 106.

876. εὐχόμεναι, 'boasting to be,' like the common Homeric εὔχεται εἶναι. The omission of εἶναι in this use is characteristic of Aeschylos, e. g. γένος ἡμέτερον . . . βοός ἐξ ἐπαφῆς . . . Διὸς εὐχόμενον, Supp. 16-18; Ἀργεῖαι γένος ἐξευχόμεσθα, ib. 274; τίς οὖν ὁ πόρτις εὔχεται βοός, ib. 314. So the schol. explains it, τὴν οἴκησιν αὐχοῦσαι. Blomfield's ἀρχόμεναι, adopted by some edd., though easier, is really duller, and less satisfactory or likely.

μυχία Προποντίς, 'the creeks of Propontis.' The map shows many coves, islands, promontories, in this inland sea.

877. στόμωμα Πόντου, called the Thracian Bosphoros.

879-80. κατὰ πρῶν ἄλιον, 'the sea-washed headland,' means no doubt primarily the projecting beak of the Troad, though he passes by easy transition to the more southerly islands, Lesbos, Chios, and Samos off the Ionian coast, and Andros, Tenos, Mykonos, Naxos, Paros in the Kyklades group.

885. συνάπτουσ', intrans. 'close-lying': the idea is given with characteristic fullness, συνάπτουσ' ἀγχιγείτων.

887. ἀγχιάλους, used here generally 'sea-ward': he has touched on the coast-islands (882-3), and the Kyklades-cluster (884-6), and we now have the more *detached* islands.

889. μεσάκτους, 'betwixt the shores,' natural epithet of the islands out at sea with no coast or neighbours near.

890. Ἰκάρου θ' ἔδος, 'resting-place of Ikaros' (the son of Daidalos), whose wings, attached with wax by his father, fell off under the sun's heat, and he was drowned, according to the well-known tale, Hor. Od. 4. 2. 2. Apollodoros tells us (2. 6. 3) that Herakles found the floating body of Ikaros 'near an isle called Doliche, and buried it, calling the island Ikaria.' It lies halfway between Miletos and the Kyklades.

894. Salamis in Kypros, founded, according to the legend, by Teukros (Salaminian hero, brother of Aias) and called after his old home. So the schol., 'Salamis in Kypros is colony of the Athenian Salamis.'

898. τὰς εὐκτεάνους, 'the wealthy' *cities*, πόλεις understood from 864.

899. κλήρον Ἰαόνιον, 'the Ionian heritage,' the southern half of the west coast of Asia Minor, settled by Ionian colonists.

900. σφετέραις φρεσίν, Epic style, 'with his wisdom.'

901. ἀκάματον, long ā, as in ἀθάνατος, ἀδάματος, ἀθέμιτος, ἀπαράμυθος, &c. in Epic poetry, and Tragic imitators.



## NOTES. LINES 876-914

902. τευχηστήρ, 'armed warrior,' in a different form τευχηστής, Theb. 644.

903. ἐπικούρων, in Epic sense, 'helpers,' not later Attic sense 'mercenaries.'

904-8. 'But now the god-sent ruin of all this by war we endure, we, mightily laid low with disasters of the sea.' τᾶδε is our former prosperity: what we endure is really *the overthrow by war* of this, and though the phrase is loose it is quite natural. πολέμοισι is not free from doubt: but I have kept it as I think it will stand as above taken. If it be altered, I prefer either Weil's πολέμοιο or Hartung's πλαγαῖς τε ποντίαισι (H. reads πλαγαῖσί τε, but there is no reason to alter the metre). But perhaps alteration is not required.

*Xerxes comes in, by the orchestra entrance, on a car, in royal robes, with attendants carrying his arms. He mounts the stage.*

[909-1076. EXODOS: (*Part 1*) Xerxes briefly laments the loss, and wishes for death: the Chorus answer in the same despair, 'The Asian land is beaten to its knees.' [These lines are anapaests (909-31)]: (*Part 2*) κομμός, or lyric antiphonal lament between Chor. and Xerxes. *Xerx.* 'I have been a curse to my land!' *Cho.* 'A sad greeting I will give.' *Xerx.* 'Sad be it: Fate has turned against me!' *Cho.* 'A bitter wail I will utter for the disaster at sea.' *Xerx.* 'The Ionian fleet has ravaged sea and shore.' The Chorus then ask (by name) where all the leaders are: Xerxes replies, 'dashed on the rocks,' 'gasping in death on the land.' Chorus specially bewail the 'numberer of the Host' and the princes missing from the escort (932-1001). (*Part 3*) Antiphonal lament (mostly in single lines) for the unlooked-for woe, the miserable remnant of men and arms, the loss of all their strength (1002-37). (*Part 4*, the true exodos.) The mourning procession then forms, and with cries, beating of breasts, rending of robes—still in antiphonal lines—escort the crushed and despairing monarch out of the theatre (1038-76).]

910. ἀτεκμαρτοτάτης, 'most unforeseen': τεκμαίρομαι is 'to guess by signs.'

911. ἐνέβη, lit. 'set foot on,' i.e. 'trampled on.' The same idea is more fully and forcibly given above (515) by the Chorus, ὦ δυσπρόνητε δαίμον, ὡς ἄγαν βαρὺς Ποδοῖν ἐνήλλου παιτὶ Περσικῷ γένοι.

912. τί πάθω; 'what will become of me?' Homeric formula of perplexity and fear, ὦ μοι ἐγώ, τί πάθω; τί νύ μοι μῖκιστα γένηται;

914. ἐσιδόντ': accus. not dat. as the dative ι cannot be elided,

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see 850. This anacoluthon recurs Cho. 410 πέπαλται μοι φίλον κέαρ κλύουσιν: Soph. El. 480 ὑπεστί μοι θράσος κλύουσιν: similarly Antig. 848 ἔψανσας μερίμνας (gen.), πατρὸς . . . οἶκτον, where οἶκτον is in *apposition* to the *idea*: Prom. 144 ἐμοῖσιν ὅσσοις ὁμίχλα προσῆξεν . . . εἰσιδοῦσαν.

917. κατὰ . . . καλύψαι, tmesis, see 457.

918. στρατιᾶς . . . τιμῆς, gen. after ὅτοιοι, see above 445, 517.

919. περσονόμου τιμῆς μεγάλης, 'great glory of Persian rule.'

920. κόσμον, 'splendour.'

923. καταμέναν: Epic pass. aor., formed straight from the stem (non-thematic) like φθίμενος, χύμενος, λέκτο, &c.

"Αἰδου σάκτορι Περσῶν, 'who hath packed Hades with Persians,' a most powerful and audacious phrase.

924. ἄδοβάται, 'dwellers in Hades,' a magnificent emendation of Hermann's for the meaningless ἀγδαβάται of MSS., which the scholia took as the *name of a tribe*!

926. τοξοδάμαντες, 26, 30.

ταρφύς, lit. 'thick,' 'dense': ταρφύς μυριάς, 'countless myriads,' the use of ταρφύς fem. (instead of ταρφέα) is an Epic and Doric licence, found in some adj.: e.g. θῆλυς εἶουσα, Il. 19. 97; ἡδὺς αὐτμή, Od. 12. 369; πουλὺν ἐφ' ὑγρῇν, Il. 10. 27. So ταρφύς ἀντέλλουσα θρίξ, Theb. 535. [MSS. read γὰρ φύστις, absolute nonsense: the emendation above is by Franz.]

931. 'Sunk on its knee,' an obvious figure from wrestling: more explicit in Ag. 63-4 πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γυιοβαρῇ γόνατος κονίαισιν ἐρειδομένου.

932. αἰακτός, 'lamentable.'

935. πρόσφθογγον νόστου, predicative, 'as greeting for thy return': νόστου, gen. of respect.

936. κακοφάτιδα, lit. 'of ill utterance,' i.e. 'ill-omened.'

937. κακομέλετον, prob. 'ill-brooding' (μελ- 'care,' not μέλ- 'song').

938. Μαρριανδυνοῦ θρηνητήης: the Mariandynoi were an ancient tribe in north of Bithynia, south of Herakleia Pontica, a coast town on the Euxine: Xen. Anab. 5. 10. 1. The tribe were famous as professional mourners: there was said to be a special Mariandynian flute, suitable to dirges (schol. M. and Hesych.). The 'Mariandynian mourner' was said to be proverbial (Eustath. ad. Dionys. 791).

941-2. Accumulated adjectives, in Aeschylus' fashion, see 316.

942-3. 'For here again shifting fortune assails me.'

945. λαοπαθία: I have adopted (with much doubt) Wecklein's λαοπαθία (short ᾱ), for the MSS. λαοπαθῇ, in the sense 'sore suffering,' as a possible resolved form of the intensive suffix λα- (λάμαχος, &c.). The meaning of 945-6 will then be 'in honour

of the sore and grievous troubles of the disaster at sea—the lament of the race who mourn for the city,' i. e. of the Marian-dynian mourners. But there can be no certainty about the reading or the sense in detail.

950-4. Again a difficult stanza, where some doubt remains, 'For the Ionian naval host, turning the tide of battle (ἐτεραλκίς), swept them away' (i. e. the Persian warriors whom we mourn), 'the Ionian host, ravaging the dark sea and hapless shore.' So Eurip. Med. 212 (of Medea carried off to Greece) we have 'Ελλάδ' ἐς ἀντίπορον δι' ἄλα νύχιον ἐφ' ἀλμυρὰν πόντου κλῆδ', clearly 'to the opposite coast of Hellas, across the gloomy sea (Euxine) to the watery barrier of the main' (Hellespont): Androm. 1224 ἄντρα νύχια (of Thetis' sea caverns).

Both here and Med. 212 *μυχίαν* or *μύχιον* is proposed, and the conjecture in one place is used to support the same conjecture in the other. I do not feel it is necessary in either. In Medea 212 'the gloomy sea' is far better than 'the sea of inlets': for with *μύχιον* we leave out *the Euxine* which Jason crossed from Kolchis. In our passage *μυχίαν* would do for the land-locked sea, where the fight was: but 'gloomy' is at least more imaginative, and the phrase is more effective where *sea and shore alike are deadly* to the Persians.

955. MSS. give this line to Xerxes: but the antistrophe shows that to be wrong. There is no difficulty in βόα and ἐκπεύθον: 'Cry aloud, learn all the tidings' is a *mutual* exhortation of the Chorus,—a common dramatic device, of which the best instance is Eum. 140, 141, 254-7. The next line (956) is addressed to Xerxes, asking of his 'comrades' or 'guard' (παραστάται) whom the Chor. cannot see among the escort of Xerxes. Two names (Pharandakes and Sousiskanes) occur in the opening Chorus (31 and 34) among the leaders. Psammis is an Egyptian name (Her. 2. 159). The rest are unknown, see Appendix, § 4.

963. For the 'Tyrian ship' compare the conflict of Athenian and Phoenician ships which opened the battle, 410.

964. ἔρποντας, 'lost,' 'perished': in Attic ἔρρω is not 'to go,' but 'to be gone,' cf. 732 ἔρρει πανώλης δῆμος.

ἄκταις: the repetition 966 ἐπ' ἀκτῶς may perhaps be defended, and I have left the MS. reading: but Weil's ἐπ' ἄκραϊς, 'on the juts' or 'reefs,' seems very probable.

966. θείοντας, 'striking,' intrans.: [in 418 ἔθεινον occurs without object expressed: but the context there supplies the object, 'them,' i. e. the crowded Persian ships].

967-73. For the names, see Appendix, § 4.

973. ἐπανερóμαν (Epic unaugmented form); the aor. in the idiomatic 'momentary' use, see 685.

975. ὠγυγίους: see 37.

976-7. 'All with one stroke lie gasping on the shore'; ἐνὶ πτύλῳ one of the very numerous *nautical* metaphors. πτύλος is properly the 'oar-sweep,' the 'plash of oars': here it describes the simultaneous dashing of the Persians on the beach, like dying fish (Od. 12. 254 of a fish, ἀσπαίροντα . . . ἔρριψε θύραζε).

977. χέρσῳ, Epic local dative common in poetry (without prep.). χέρσῳ occurs Hom. Il. 4. 424. So πεδίῳ, ἀγρῷ, οὐρανῷ, δόμῳ, μυχῷ, &c.

978. αὐτοῦ can be taken with ἔλιπες, 'didst thou leave *there*': but it is better with τὸν σόν, put first for emphasis.

'Didst thou leave thine own faithful watcher of the Persians, who numbered them by tens of thousands, Alpistos son of Batanochos . . . and Parthos and mighty Oibares?'

Περσῶν, prob. gen. after ὀφθαλμόν, in the sense 'spy of the Persians.' The Great King, as is well known, had spies and reporters of all men's doings, whom he called his Eyes and Ears. Herod. (1. 100) calls them κατάσκοποι καὶ κατήκοι (Watchers and Listeners), and ascribes the institution to Deïokes. So the young Kyros, playing with his fellow village boys at royalty, is elected βασιλεὺς, and promptly appoints a comrade to be his Eye (Herod. 1. 114): and when he grew up and became king in reality, he is praised by Xenophon (Kyrop. 8. 2. 10-sqq.) for having a large number of these Eyes and Ears.

The general sense is 'Didst thou leave behind also thine own all-faithful Eye over the Persians, who counted them by tens of thousands, the son of Batanochos Alpistos . . . son of Sesamas, son of Megabates?' The name Alpistos is unknown: and Wecklein ingeniously proposes ἀλπιστος, a rare word found in Pindar (Isth. 5. 12 ζωᾶς ἁώτον . . . τὸν ἀλπιστον, 'the fairest flower of life'), the name being in that case the lost word in the next line. But this is at best a guess: and ἀλπιστον seems more appropriate to a royal favourite than to a trusty officer.

In Arist. Ach. 92 a fantastically dressed oriental person is ushered in as 'King's Eye,' having a huge eye apparently in the mask.

980. μυρία μυρία πεμπαστάν, the pride of the Great King was pleased by this method of counting by tens of thousands: so Dareios did in the Scythian expedition: and Xerxes' plan at Doriskos on the outward march is vividly told by Herod. (7. 60), how they packed 10,000 men as close as possible, drew a circle round, built a wall round the line, and *measured* the army by batches.

Possibly Aesch. is referring to this incident: then 'the son of

Batanochos, the king's Eye,' was the officer supervising the measurement. Herod. gives no name.

Note *μυρία* acc. after *πεμπαστάν*, a special but not rare idiom where the *verbal* (adj. or noun) keeps the case of the verb: so *χοὰς πρόπομπός*, Cho. 23; *ἄπορα πόριμος*, Prom. 904; [*στέγην*] *πολλὰ ξυνίστορα κακά*, Ag. 1090; *τὰ μετέωρα φροντιστής*, Plat. Apol. 18 B: and so *δόσιν κακοίς*, inf. 1041, where it is the *remoter* object that keeps the verbal construction.

985. *δάων* after *ῶ*, cf. 445, 517, 918.

986. *πρόκακα*, 'utterly ill': like the use of *πρό* ('away,' 'utterly') in *πρόπας*, *προπάλαι*, *προθέλυμος*, *πρόρριζος*.

987. *ἰύγγα*: the *ἰύγξ* was properly 'a wryneck': this bird was used as a love charm, being tied to a wheel, and spun round, while magic songs or spells were muttered. The name was used for the wheel, and even the spell itself: and metaphorically for the passion or 'yearning,' as here, that draws the thoughts to those longed for. The charm is best known from the description in Theokr. 2. 17. Socrates in the talk recorded by Xenophon (Mem. 3. 11. 17) says that he keeps his friends *οὐκ ἄνευ φίλτρων καὶ ἐπαδῶν καὶ ἰύγγων*. So Pind. N. 4. 56 *ἔλκομαι ἰύγγι ἥτορ*.

993. *Μάρδων*: the Mardoï are called nomads by Herod. (1. 125), and are believed to be shepherds of the hills north of the Persian gulf. The other names (994-8) are unknown to Herod. From the last three lines of the stanza they are clearly chieftains who would naturally be escorting Xerxes.

999-1001. The construction is *ἔταφον [αὐτοὺς] οὐχ ἐπομένους*, lit. 'I marvel at-them-not-following,' 'I marvel that they follow not.' This is a personalized construction (*αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἐπομένους* = *τὸ μὴ αὐτοὺς ἔπείσθαι*) not uncommon with verbs of *emotion*: *σὲ μὲν εὖ πρᾶσσοντ' ἐπιχαίρω*, Ai. 136; *ἦσθην πατέρα τὸν ἄμὸν εὐλογοῦντά σε*, Phil. 134; *ἀγανακτεῖν τοὺς φρονιμωτάτους ἀπίοντας*, Plat. Phaed. 62 D; *τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς θνήσκοντας οὐ χαίρουσι*, Eur. Hipp. 1339.

1000. *σκηναῖς τροχλάτοισιν*, lit. 'wheeled tent,' i.e. the *ἀρμάμαξα* or 'curtained car' (the groom in Xen. Kyr. 6. 4. 11 *closes* the car) used by kings or luxurious persons. The envoy in Acharnians (69-70) complains of their travelling 'under canvas' (*ἐσκηνημένοι*), 'reclining softly on chariots,' *ἐφ' ἀρμαμαξῶν μαλθακῶς κατακείμενοι*.

1002. *ἀγρέται*, lit. 'gatherers,' i.e. 'marshallers,' 'generals' (the MSS. give *ἀγρόται*, 'rustics,' which is nonsense. The correction *ἀγρέται* is based on a note of Hesych. *ἀγρέταν' ἡγεμόνα*). *τοίπερ* is Epic relative.

1006. *ἔθεσθε*, 'have ordained': so *χάριν θέσθαι*, Prom. 783, 'grant a boon.'



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1007. διαπρέπον οἷον δέδορκεν Ἄτα, 'plain to see, as is the glance of Calamity.' διαπρέπον three syll. like καρδίας two syll., Theb. 289; δίαινε, 1038. Some take it 'showing how fierce is the glance,' &c.: but οἷον must be *relative* (not indirect interrog.), as it is in the parallel expression, 1008.

1008. οἷα δι' αἰῶνος, 'such woe as lasts for ever,' οἷα attracted to the case of τύχα.

1012. οὐκ εὐτυχῶς, ironic understatement (meiosis) 'with no fair fortune,' i. e. 'to our ruin.' So οὐ μάλ' εὐτυχῶς 325.

1013. δυσπόλεμον, 'ill-starred in war.' Hartung suggests δυσπάλαμον, 'hard to conquer': an Aeschylean word, but out of place here where the tone is one of despair.

1014-5. There is no reason to suspect the text: 'in my vast host am I smitten': the army is the strength of the empire, and the empire is Xerxes.

1016. ἄλαστε: ἄλαστος and ἀλαστέω are Epic allied words of very obscure origin: the meaning of ἄλαστος is generally 'grievous' in Homer, found with ἄχος, πένθος, ὀδύρεσθαι, &c.: and similarly in Tragg. ἄλαστ' ἄλαστα στυγνά (supra 990); ἔπαθον ἄλαστ', O. C. 539.

As applied to *persons* it occurs Il. 22. 261 μή μοι, ἄλαστε, συνημοσύνας ἀγόρευε, where it seems to mean 'wretched one,' or possibly 'madman,' 'witless' (perhaps connected with ἀλα-, 'wander'). The meaning 'afflicted one' would suit either, and also the use of Xerxes here.

1017. τὸ λοιπὸν τόδε (neuter as in τάδε μὲν Περσῶν, I), 'this remnant,' i. e. the few followers. στολή, 'equipment,' is best referred (with the schol.) to his soldiers and guards attending: so ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στολή, Suppl. 764: others explain it less well of his 'torn dress.'

1020-2. 'The arrow-receiving storehouse for bolts' is of course the quiver in Aeschylean phrase.

1023. 'Scant relics of all that store.' ὥς in its common *comparative* use; πιστὸς ὥς νομεύς 'faithful *in his degree* as shepherd,' Soph. O. T. 1118; φρονεῖ ὥς γυνή μέγα, 'has more than a woman's pride,' ib. 1078.

1024. ἀρωγῶν, best taken neuter, 'defences' rather than 'defenders.'

1025. Ἰάνων: MSS. read Ἰαόνων, unmetrical (as ὦ -- is wanted). I read with Passow Ἰάνων, the form found in MSS. 950, 951.

1026. ἀγανόρειος, variant form of Epic adj. ἀγῆνωρ, 'manly,' 'bold.'

1032. μὲν οὖν, corrective as usual: 'Ay, and more than alas!' to which Chorus replies 'Ay, twofold [sorrows] and threefold.'

## NOTES. LINES 1007-1050

1034. The form of phrase is again Epic : *δυσμενέσιν μὲν χάρμα, κατηφείην δέ σοι αὐτῷ*, Il. 3. 51 ; *τῷ μὲν κλέος ἄμμι δὲ πένθος*, Il. 4. 196, &c.

1038. *δίαινε* *δίαινε*, lit. 'water it' (with tears), 'weep, weep for the woe.' The second *δίαινε* is two syllables, like *διαπρέπον* 1007, q.v.

*After πρὸς δόμους δ' ἴθι (1038) the Chorus begin to form the mourning procession, escorting Xerxes and the soldiers, and bewailing (in alternate lines with the king) the defeat and destruction of the army (1039-76). At the close of the song the procession passes out of the orchestra door.*

1039. This line in MSS. occurs at 1047, and 1047 here. The confusion came clearly from the line following *βόα νυν*, &c., which is found in both places. Obviously *διαίνομαι* is the answer to *δίαινε*.

1041. *δόσιν κακὰν κακῶν κακοῖς* : the verb 'I weep,' 'bewail' is easily supplied either from *διαίνομαι* or *βόα*. *κακοῖς* depends on *δόσιν* (see note on 980) : lit. 'an evil grant of ills to ills,' i.e. 'a grievous sending of sorrows on sorrows.' For the idiomatic harping on the word, cf. Aias 866 *πόνος πόνῳ πόνον φέρει* : in milder forms *τίκτειν ἄταν ἄταις*, Soph. El. 235 ; *πήματα φθιτῶν ἐπὶ πήμασι*, Ant. 595 ; *ἄχεα τ' ἄχεσι, δάκρυα δάκρυσιν*, Eur. El. 365, &c. The use is common.

1042. *ὁμοῦ τιθεῖς*, i. e. 'in unison with me.'

1045. 'Alas, and this too I grieve for' : all through the *two* calamities are harped on, viz. by land and sea, *διπλοῦν μέτωπον* 720, *στρατὸς . . . ὤλεσεν στρατόν* 726, *δίδυμα γάρ ἐστι* 1031, and below the *dual* *δύα δύα* 1047.

1046. *ἔρεσσε*, 'strike' : metaphor from the *rhythmic beat* of oars to describing the repeated blows of mourners on the head, breast, and arms. So in the magnificent passage Theb. 855 *ἔρέσσετ' ἀμφὶ κρατὶ πόμπιμον χεροῖν πίτυλον, κ.τ.λ.* ('row with the speeding stroke of hand upon the brow, &c.'), where the rhythmic beat of mourners is pictured as the oarage of the bark bearing the dead in black-sailed ship to the dark shore.

*ἐμὴν χάριν*, 'a boon to me,' where *ἐμός* stands for genitive, as in *σὸς πόθος*, &c. : see note 699.

1047. *δύα δύα* (dual), 'two woes, two woes.'

1049. *μέλιν πάρεστι*, 'tis my charge' (lit. 'tis for me to care for this'). *τοῦ θρήνου* is easily understood. Note that *μέλιν* is here *personal*, cf. *θεοὺς ἀξιούσθαι μέλιν*, Ag. 370 ; *μέλει κέαρ*, Theb. 287 ; *θεοὶ ἀδίκων μίλουσιν*, H. F. 772, &c.

1050. *ἐπορθίαζε*, 'uplift the cry.'



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1052. 'The sorrowful stroke' is called 'black' metaphorically for 'gloomy,' 'sad': so we find *μελαίνα τύχα*, Suppl. 89; *ὄναρ μέλαν*, ib. 888; *μελαίνας ἄτας*, Ag. 770; *μέλας* Ἀρης, ib. 1511, &c.

1054. τὸ Μῦσιον, 'the Mysian chant' (*μέλος*): the Mysians and Phrygians were noted mourners (schol.). So the Bithynians (938) and the Kissians (tribe of Susiana), Cho. 423. Violent signs of grief were common all over the East; as was also the custom of using *hired* professional mourners.

1055. ἄνια: see 256.

1056. μοι, ethic dat., 'I pray': λευκήρη clearly suits the Persian elders, not Xerxes.

1057. ἀπριγδα, 'with tight grip,' of the violent tearing of the hair. So ἀπριγδόπληκτα of the 'clenched' blows on the breast,' Cho. 425.

1060. ἀκμῇ χερῶν: χεῖρ is often used for *arms* as well as hands, as in περὶ χεῖρε βαλοῦσα for embracing (Ag. 1559), ἔχω σε χερσὶν Soph. El. 1226: accordingly for the *hands* or *fingers* we often have ἄκρος or ἀκμή added: as ἀμφιδεξίους ἀκμαῖς, O. T. 1243; χερῶν ἄκρους κτένας, Ag. 1594.

1062. ψάλλ', 'pluck,' metaphor from the action of sharply pulling the strings of a harp.

1068. αἰακτός, active, 'mourning': in 932 the same word is passive 'lamentable.' These verbals are largely used both ways. So πιστός, usually 'trustworthy,' is used (Prom. 916 τοῖς μεταρσίοις κτύποις πιστός) for 'trusting': μεμπτός, active, Trach. 446, passive, Eur. Hel. 462: ὑποπτος, both 'suspecting' and 'suspected.' Our word 'suspicious' is also used both ways. See 104.

1069. The text in the last few lines is in many places uncertain: I have given it in the text as it stands in M. The last eleven lines are marked as ἐπώδους: but there is here as often ground for supposing that such passages are called 'epodes' when the antiphonal or antistrophic correspondence has been lost, owing to corruption. The best suggestion for restoration is Weil's, as follows:—

Ξε. βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι.

1066

Χο. οἰοί οἰοί.

Ξε. αἰακτός ἐς δόμους κίε.

Χο. (αἰαῖ αἰαῖ).

Ξε. ἰὼ Περσὶς αἶα.

1070

Χο. ἰὼ δυσβάνκτος.

Ξε. ἰὼὰ δὴ κατ' ἄστυ.

Χο. ἰὼὰ δῆτ' ἀν' αἶαν.

Ξε. γοᾶσθ' ἀβροβάται.

Χο. — — — — —

1075

Ξε. ἰὼ Περσὶς αἶα.

# NOTES. LINES 1052-1072

Χο. ἰὼ δυσβάνκτος.

Ξε. ἰῆ ἰῆ τρισκόλμοισι βάρισιν φθιτοί.

Χο. ἰῆ ἰῆ πέμψω τοί σε δυσθρόοις γόοις.

1079

In this the following points may be noticed : —

(1) 1069 αἰαῖ αἰαῖ is distinctly suggested by αἰακτός 1068, and correspondence is restored.

(2) The single line is divided up into two :

Ξε. ἰὼ Περσὶς αἶα.

Χο. ἰὼ δυσβάνκτος.

This removes the difficulty of δόσβατος, which can only be translated as it stands, 'painful to enter,' which is not very natural, as he has been a long time in 'Persian land,' and is not now entering. Further, again correspondence is restored. δυσβάνκτος was restored by Brunck (from three recc. who had δύσβακτος or δυσβαίικτος), and would mean 'lamentable,' an easier sense : and one schol. rec. explains the word so, δυσθρήνητος.

(3) δῆτ' ἄν' αἶαν is a very probable correction of δῆτα ναὶ ναί, which is certainly suspicious, if not impossible.

These points are all in favour of Weil's ingenious suggestion. The last five lines are more doubtful. We have to suppose a line lost after ἀβροβάται : 1073 (in the text) is re-cast exactly like 1069 : and 1074-6 are rearranged into two lines.

But the total amount of conjecture is so considerable, that in spite of its ingenuity, and the high probability of some points, I have preferred to leave the MS. reading in the text, and relegate Weil's restoration to the notes.

1072. ἀβροβάται, 'softly stepping,' probably referring to the soft Persian shoe (see 660) which the Greeks considered effeminate. ἀβρός is a contemptuous word.

## APPENDIX

### § 1. (ll. 759-781.) MEDIAN AND PERSIAN KINGS.

There is some difficulty in Aeschylus' list of the kings of the Medes and of the Persians.

Herodotus in his elaborate history of the rise of these dynasties (i. 98-130) makes *Deiokes* the first Median king, then his son *Phraortes*, succeeded by his son *Kyaxares*, and next after him *Astyages*, whose daughter Mandane was married to a Persian named Kambyzes. This pair had a son *Kyros* ('the elder'), whose romantic adventures are related at length, and who finally defeated his grandfather Astyages, and became king of the Medes and Persians (553 B.C.). After Kyros came his son named (after Kyros' father) *Kambyzes*, who slew his own brother Smerdis: but a Magian pretender calling himself *Smerdis* was put up by a plot of Magian rebels, and being accepted as Kyros' lost son succeeded to the throne. He was followed by *Dareios* the Persian, who helping with six conspirators to overthrow the Magians was made king of Persia (Herod. iii. 1-84). These dynasties would cover roughly the two centuries, 700-500 B.C.

Aeschylus' list is considerably different, and in some points obscure. He makes the first king one *Medos* (Pers. 765), clearly an imaginary 'eponymous' name (like Ion, Achaïos, Doros, the reputed founders of the three Hellenic races). The second is not named (Pers. 766), and it is disputed who is meant. Some suppose *Astyages* to be meant, since in the ordinary tradition given above (and followed also by Xenophon, Cyrop. i. 3) he was grandfather and predecessor of Kyros. Others think that an *Artaphrenes* is meant, which would explain the strangely worded though Aeschylean line 767, *φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν φακοστρόφονν*. Next comes *Kûros*, and after him, fourth in this list, his unnamed son (Pers. 773), who can be none but *Kambyzes*. The fifth Mardos, 'who is a disgrace to his land and the ancient throne' (Pers. 774-5), must be the Magian pretender *Smerdis*. This man was slain by

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Artaphrenes; but Aeschylus nowhere says that Artaphrenes reigned, except in the clearly spurious line 778.

These facts will be most clearly shown by a table:—

### HERODOTOS.

1. *Deiokes*, first Median king.
2. *Phraortes* (son of 1).
3. *Kyaxares* (son of 2).
4. *Astyages*.
5. *Kyros* (grandson of 4), first king of Medes and Persians.
6. *Kambyzes* (son of 5).
7. *Smerdis* (Magian pretender).
8. *Dareios* (killed the Magians with six conspirators).

### AESCHYLOS.

1. *Medos*.
2. 'his son' (*Astyages* or *Artaphrenes*?).
3. *Kyros*.
4. 'his son' *Kambyzes*.
5. *Mardos* (*Smerdis*).  
(6 and 7 spurious.)
6. *Dareios*.

A comparison of these lists suggests the following comments:—

(1) The three first names of Herodotos' tradition are telescoped, so to speak, into a single eponymous 'Medos' by Aeschylus.

(2) Astyages and Kambyzes are not named by Aeschylus, though there are possible places for them (2 and 4), less likely in the first case, more likely in the second.

(3) The man who killed Smerdis-Mardos (the Magian pretender) is in Aeschylus Artaphrenes, but he says nothing of the *real* Smerdis, son of Kyros, being killed by Kyros' son Kambyzes. Among the Persian conspirators who killed the Magian or false Smerdis, Herodotos mentions as a leading man one Intaphernes. There can be little doubt that the Intaphernes of Herodotos and the Artaphrenes of Aeschylus are the same name variously rendered, one or both being perhaps corrupted. Some have supposed that Aeschylus' Artaphrenes in 776 is meant for one of the series of kings: but, as we saw, he nowhere says that Artaphrenes reigned, and in all the other cases he does so explicitly. Moreover, the spurious line 778, whoever wrote it, is clear evidence against this supposition.

(4) Dareios' part in the conspiracy against Smerdis is omitted by Aeschylus, but this may be, as Wecklein has pointed out, because it would not harmonize with the picture of Dareios (647-680, *supra*) as the wise and excellent king.

(5) Herodotos mentions two men named Artaphrenes, viz. (1) Dareios' brother, who was never king, but governor of Sardis during Dareios' reign, and a notable figure during the Ionic revolt. (2) His son, of the same name, one of the generals

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appointed in 490 (the year of Marathon) to crush Athens and Eretria (Herod. v. 25-vi. 42, and vi. 94). Neither of these can possibly be identified with the Artaphrenes possibly referred to in Pers. 767, nor the explicit mention in 776. See below, § 4.

As to the *form* of the name, the suffix *-φρένης* is always found in Aeschylus, and in the best MSS. of Herodotus, and is nearest to the Persian form *-frana*, a common element in Artaphernes, Tissaphernes, Pharnabazos, Intaphernes, and many other names. The form *-phernes* or *-pharn-* is on the other hand universal in Thucydides. Nothing is more familiar than the shifting of the vowel which comes next to *-ρ-* in a word, as *καρτερός κράτος*, *θάσπος θράσος*, &c. And the existence of the Greek word *φρένες* makes it in this case all the more natural that if the form *-pharn-*, which probably was nearer to the Persian *vowel-sound*, was adopted in some cases, there should be a competing Graecized form *-phrenes*, with the vowel modified, but the *ρ* in the right place.

### § 2. (ll. 338-40.) NUMBERS OF THE SHIPS.

As to the numbers of the Greek ships there is a discrepancy between the figures of the various authorities. Aeschylus gives the number as 310, ten ships being of special excellence (*δεκάς ἑκκρίτος*, Persae, 340), and the Athenian contingent being 200. Herodotus, writing a generation later, gives a complete (viii. 43-7) list of all the contingents, and puts the total (viii. 48) at 378. But there is an error either in the historian's details, or in his arithmetic, or else his text has been corrupted: for the total of the contingents, as given in the ordinary texts, is only 366. Thucydides, reporting a speech made by an Athenian (unnamed) at the Spartan congress in 432, represents him as saying that at Salamis the Greek ships were 400, of which Athens furnished 'a little less than two-thirds' (Thuk. i. 74). Demosthenes (Cor. 238) says the total was 300, and the Athenians furnished 200.

In considering these four statements, we see at once that the latest authority (Demosthenes), representing no doubt the accepted belief in the fourth century, completely confirms Aeschylus' figures: while the anonymous speaker in Thuk. (if his text be sound<sup>1</sup>) is merely exaggerating. The real

<sup>1</sup> A few bad MSS. read *τριακοσίας*, which would bring the figures into harmony with both Aesch. and Demosth. And possibly that may be right; though it may also be a correction.

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discrepancy lies between Aeschylos and Herodotos, the latter being an industrious (though uncritical) collector of facts and statements. And between these two, there can be no doubt that the authority of Aeschylos is far the highest. He had personal knowledge of the details of the battle, in which (according to a tradition recorded in Pausanias, i. 14. 5, which there is no reason to question) he actually took part. And moreover the play was written less than eight years after the events recounted, and was acted before the whole body of Athenians, to every one of whom the battle had been of the most momentous importance, and most of whom had been actually engaged in it.

It is impossible to imagine any evidence, to which Herodotos could have had access, that would be of greater weight or authority than the words of Aeschylos, in regard to a point so easily ascertainable at the time as the number of the enemy's fleet.

### § 3. (ll. 527-531.) ATOSSA'S EXIT.

The point raised on this passage is as follows:—Atossa, after hearing the tale of the disaster, has said that she is going to pray to the gods, and then will return with offerings to Earth and the Dead (thinking no doubt chiefly of Dareios, whose tomb is in view) (521-6). She then bids the Chorus consult with 'the Faithful,' i. e. with the whole body of Persian Elders whom they represent (527-8); and she adds, 'and if my son arrive before I return, do ye console him, and escort him home' (529-31).

But Atossa, as a fact, returns (before the arrival of Xerxes) at line 598: she holds a long dialogue with the Chorus, then with the Ghost of Dareios (598-851), who bids her go back to the palace to get 'fitting adornment' since the King's raiment is all in rags (833-6), and then to meet her son on his return. This she promises to do, saying, 'I will try to meet my son' (850).

It is argued (by Weil and others) that the words used in 529-31 are unsuitable, in their present position, to the play as we have it, inasmuch as Atossa reappears (for a scene of 254 lines) before Xerxes comes: and that they would suit better after 851, where the Queen leaves the stage for the last time, and where accordingly the injunction to the Chorus to escort him home, if she does not return in time, is natural, and indeed is actually carried out.

Weil further suggests that the passage perhaps appeared first in its present place, owing to its being copied from a MS. which



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omitted the scene of the Ghost, i. e. from 532 to 851. He also would transfer to 851 the two lines 527-8: but this is clearly wrong, as ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς πεπραγμένοις (527) must come after the narrative of the disaster. Others propose the omission (as spurious) of the whole five lines, or some of them. Lastly, Wecklein thinks that the play was originally written *without* the lines, but that Aeschylus, wishing to have a representation without the Dareios scene *added* the lines here to account for the non-reappearance of Atossa.

It is certainly true that *a priori* one would expect the phrase, 'If he comes before my return, escort him home,' to be spoken when Atossa is leaving the stage for the last time, and Xerxes' appearance is imminent, *not* when a long scene in which the Queen takes part is to intervene before the King's return. But the difficulty of supposing that the play was ever written or acted without the highly characteristic and effective scene of the invocation of Dareios' ghost, and his further prophecies of disaster, is surely decisive. This theory cannot be accepted on such comparatively slight grounds.

The question whether 529-31 ought not to be transferred to 851 stands on a very different footing; and there is certainly something to be said for the change. It explains beforehand why the Queen is not there to receive her son; which requires explanation, especially after her expressions of anxiety; though it is (dramatically) far better that she should be absent. If she were there, all the lamentations would have to be repeated, which are already rather wearisome: and moreover, she would have to clothe the ragged and travel-worn Xerxes with the royal robes she promised (849) to bring; and such a scene would border on the grotesque.

On the other hand, the lines, as they stand, would not fit on well to 851. καὶ παῖδ' would be in itself an awkward connexion, especially after παιδί μου (850). And it may be maintained that they are after all not unsuitable to their present place. They keep up the expectation of the return of the defeated and disgraced Xerxes: and they also, in their very form, suggest that Atossa *may* come back to pay the promised offerings (ἤξω λαβοῦσα πέλανον, 524) before the King arrives, as she actually does at 598. Lastly, 851, pointed and effective as a closing line, would be decidedly weakened if 529-31 were added afterward.

### § 4. NAMES OF THE PERSIAN LEADERS.

Our two authorities, Herodotos and Aeschylus, both give lists of the names of those who commanded the various con-

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tingents of the huge host which Xerxes brought against the Greeks. Herodotos devotes thirty-seven chapters (vii. 61-97) to a systematic enumeration of all the captains of the separate nationalities, and the generals-in-chief of the army and the navy, the total number of names amounting to *thirty-nine*. In the Persae the names occur at three different points of the drama. The opening chorus, with its dramatic fluctuation between pride in the vast force and anxiety for its fate, mentions, in an effective manner characteristic of the poet, *seventeen* names of the leaders of diverse nationalities (Persae 21-51). Secondly, the messenger (302-30) vivifies his description of the disaster by enumerating *nineteen* commanders of the fleet or army who perished in the battle. Lastly, in the κομμός with which the play concludes, the Chorus question Xerxes of the fate of *twenty-six* generals or naval leaders, only to learn each time that they have met their death (955-1000). Three of the names are found in *all three* places, and eight recur *twice*.

A comparison of Aeschylos' list of fifty-one names with Herodotos' thirty-nine shows rather surprising results. The cases where names in the two lists can be identified with certainty or probability are, as will be seen from the details given below, remarkably few.

### (a) Names *identical* in the two authorities :

*Ariomardos*. In Aesch. he is called 'the ruler of [Egyptian] Thebes' (38) : his death is 'a sorrow to Sardis' (321) and (968) he is called 'the good.' Herod. mentions two men of this name, the leader of the Kaspians (vii. 67) (probably a nephew of Dareios), and the captain of the Moschoi and Tibarenoi, who is a son of Dareios and Parmys (vii. 78).

*Arsames* in the Persae (37) is called 'the prince of Memphis,' and his fate (by wounds or drowning) is recorded by the messenger (308). He is doubtless the son of Dareios mentioned Herod. vii. 69.

*Artaphrenes* (Pers. 21), mentioned as a τὰ γὰρ Περσῶν, is no doubt the *Artaphernes* of Herod. (vii. 74) who was a general at Marathon.

*Masistes*, one of the 'kings who serve the mighty king' (Pers. 24, 30), is clearly the son of Dareios and Atossa, and brother of Xerxes, whom Herod. (vii. 82) mentions as one of the six generals-in-chief at Salamis.

### (b) Names *similar*, and possibly to be identified :

*Astaspes*, mentioned (Persae 22) among the first four names, may possibly be Herodotos' *Otaspes* (vii. 63) who comes fifth in his list, and is commander of the Assyrian force.

*Pharandakes*, classed as a 'warrior of the bow' (Pers. 31) and a 'comrade' of Xerxes (παροστάρης, Pers. 958), may possibly be either *Pharandates* (Herod. vii. 79) or *Pherendates* (vii. 67), the former general of the Sarangai, the latter of the Kolchians.

*Masistras* is one of those leaders of whose fate the Chorus enquires (971), and is not improbably the same as Herodotos' *Masistios*, leader of the Alarodioi, and son of another of his list of Persian generals, Siromitres.

*Megabates*, mentioned by Aesch. among the first-named ταγοί (Pers. 22), is probably the 'cousin of Dareios' of that name (Herod. v. 32), who was made commander of the expedition against Naxos about 502 B. C., and also named (vii. 97) as the father of Megabazos, one of the admirals of the fleet.

*Hystaichmas* (Pers. 972) has some resemblance to *Hystaspes*, son of Dareios and Atossa (Herod. vii. 64): but there can be no certainty in such an identification.

*Oibares*, called 'the great' (Pers. 983), is possibly the son of Megabazos (Herod. vi. 33).

*Syennesis*, called 'ruler of Kilikians' (Pers. 326), may be the 'King of Kilikians' name (Herod. v. 118).

(c) Other names in the two authors are similar, but what is said of them prevents identification: e.g. *Pharnouchos* is apparently in Aesch. (Pers. 313) an Egyptian sailor, while Herod. (vii. 88) mentions a commander of cavalry named *Pharnouches*.

Again, Aesch. has two champions, *Seisames* (Pers. 322) and *Sesamas* (982), names which resemble Herodotos' name *Sisamnes* (vii. 66): but Seisames is a Mysian, Sesamas is 'son of Megabates,' and Sisamnes is son of Hydarnes.

From the above details it results that there are at least forty names (out of fifty-one) in Aeschylos which are not in Herodotos; and twenty-eight names (out of thirty-nine) in Herodotos which are not in Aeschylos. As Herodotos had access to Asiatic sources of information which were clearly not open to Aeschylos, the natural inference is that the poet and his audience were satisfied if the names had a Persian sound, and if a few of the best-known names were actually mentioned. The surprising point is that of the ten commanders-in-chief of the army and the fleet whom Herodotos names, only two at the most are mentioned by Aeschylos. It is particularly noticeable that neither the well-known Mardonios, general-in-chief of the land forces, nor Ariabignes, nor Achaimenes, both sons of Dareios and chief commanders of the fleet, is even mentioned in the Persae.

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